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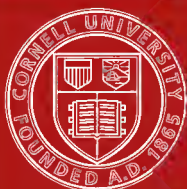
*ESSAYS ON
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Essays on Secondary Education

By JOHN CHARLES TARVER

AUTHOR OF "SOME OBSERVATIONS OF A FOSTER
PARENT" "THE LIFE OF GUSTAVE
FLAUBERT" ETC. ETC



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Epistle Dedicatory

TO THE

VENERABLE J. M. WILSON

ARCHDEACON OF MANCHESTER, VICAR OF ROCHDALE

IF, Sir, I were to select from the body of living Englishmen, who have been or are Head Masters of Public Schools, the one whose attainments and experience best qualify him to be the recipient of such small honour, as is involved in the dedication of a work by an individual so obscure as myself you are unquestionably the man upon whom my choice would fall.

Educated as a Classic, you entered St. John's College, Cambridge, as a classical scholar, and almost immediately won a University Scholarship open to classical scholars in their first year only ; you then turned your attention to Mathematics, and in four years achieved what is commonly believed to be the highest mathematical distinction that the University of Cambridge can bestow—you were Senior

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Wrangler. Moving in due course to Rugby, you at once made a name as a pioneer in the movement for teaching science in schools, and won the approbation of no less a judge than Professor Huxley. On becoming Head Master of Clifton you returned, in some measure, to your first love, and read classics with the VIth Form. At the same time you revealed yourself to the school, in general, as a preacher both earnest and original, and as a lecturer of unrivalled lucidity.

Transferred to Rochdale and an Archdeaconry, you have studied at first-hand the vexed question of elementary schools. It may indeed be truly said of you, as perhaps of no other living Englishman, that there is no department of English education with which you have not a personal acquaintance, and in which you have not shown yourself to be abundantly qualified to guide opinion.

It is perhaps for this reason that you are the one public man whose occasional speeches on educational questions are full of sympathy for the teacher; the one man who thinks of the interests of the teacher, at least as often as he thinks of the interests of parents. Again, the one man who sees

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that the interests of the teacher and the interests of the child whom he teaches are one and the same; that everything which is done to help the teacher, to cheer and brighten his life, to make it a life of broad sympathy and noble aspiration, necessarily results in help to the child.

Were I, however, not constrained to do you homage by my admiration of your public worth, I should be impelled by private inclination to offer you some small acknowledgment of the many acts of kindness which I received from your hands as an Assistant Master at Clifton College, and of the interest which you have subsequently shown in my work.

You were good enough to find my last book "amusing." I have done my best to render this one dull: I have been warned that a large number of my fellow-countrymen, whom I particularly wish to interest in the questions discussed in the ensuing pages, cannot pardon anything of the nature of a joke in a work purporting to be serious; earnestness and humour are to them incompatible qualities. Now, I am very much in earnest. I believe that we have come to a critical moment in the history of

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English education ; that a leap in the dark now may set us back for good ; that ill-advised ambition, combined with equally inconsiderate kindness of heart, gross ignorance of the questions really at issue, and a still grosser ignorance of all that pertains to soundness in education, may lead us to destroy, under the impression that we are building up.

It is not yet too late to stay the hand of the destroyer. I do not ask in the following pages for a lavish distribution of public money ; I ask for inquiry preliminary to organization. The Royal Commission on Secondary Education (1896) had neither the power nor the time to give us that complete conspectus of English education, not under the Elementary Act, which is necessary before we commit ourselves to legislation. It did not inquire into the work of "private" schools, whether day schools or boarding schools ; it did not inquire in full detail—and this I believe to be a point of the first importance—into the status of examining bodies, and the nature of their examinations. Registration of existing schools and examining bodies is the first step ; after that, we may come to the question of filling up gaps in our school system, if gaps there

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be, and then may discuss the question of local control and central control, rate aid and state aid, and all the rest of it. In all matters of business it is better to know what we want before raising money to pay for it. The recently tipped school-boy, in a toy shop, generally selects an article which has no real interest or value to him, and most commonly regrets the purchase; not so the boy who has made up his mind beforehand, and saved his money in order to acquire possession of some coveted object. It seems to me that a large section of my fellow-countrymen are at the present moment very busy in asking for a "tip," but that they have no very clear perception of what they will do with it, should they be successful in their demand.

There are many views put forth in the following pages with which I cannot hope to find you in agreement, but I know that I can rely upon your charitable toleration of sentiments with which you do not sympathise, and that your disapproval of opinions will not be extended to the person of the man who holds them.

I am the more inclined to this confidence in the

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breadth of your sympathy, because at different times of our lives, and under different circumstances, we have both enjoyed the intimate acquaintance or the intimate friendship of three men, three great teachers, whose names are mentioned in the pages of this book or of its predecessor—of William Johnson, of Henry Bradshaw, and of T. E. Brown. What a trio of great intellects ! of patient, unassuming, kindly men ! The world perhaps knows little of them, but their works live after them, and the lives of many equally unknown to fame have been sweetened by intercourse with them, and dignified by their noble example.

Nor can I forget that many years before I ever met you, I was already acquainted with you, through that friend of my boyhood, who now sleeps on an unfriendly shore beyond the "still vexed Bermoothes," one in whom brother and friend alike saw everything to admire, nothing that was not worthy to be loved.

Relying on such a community of fellowship, I dedicate to you these pages, and beg you to think of me as being,

Respectfully, but not unaffectionately yours,

JOHN CHARLES TARVER.

Introduction

A LITTLE book entitled *Some Observations of a Foster Parent*, which I published last June, has had the effect of bringing me into communication with a large number of my professional brethren, and other persons interested in educational questions. The favourable welcome accorded to that book by the Press, and the kindly nature of the letters which I have received, encourage me to hope that a more elaborate review of the matters touched upon may not be without its value, at a time when we are threatened with revolution rather than organization in our schools.

Not being at the present moment the head master of a grammar school, nor holding any official position, I am at liberty to speak out, no interests but my own being endangered by the process.

I believe that the true significance of the position of our public schools, a proper estimation of their

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work, is not attainable so long as nobody speaks out on their behalf. For various causes the head masters and assistant masters of our public schools do not speak out. For one reason, they do not think that it is necessary : their position seems to them so well assured, their merit so obvious, that to defend themselves or to proclaim themselves, are alike superfluous. Another reason is, that they suffer from a disease which may be shortly designated tekontophobia. As hydrophobia is an unnatural dread of water, so tekontophobia is an unnatural dread of parents : it is better to say nothing than to run any risk of wounding the susceptibilities of those upon whose goodwill depends the existence of a school. I do not believe this caution to be in all respects necessary, or altogether justifiable, and it has one very serious drawback. Secondary education is shortly to become the subject of legislation, but there is no instructed public opinion on the question. There is a general impression that something should be done, nobody knows precisely what ; only a very few know what is actually being done. The silence of the public schools, as to the nature of their work, makes it possible for a large number of persons to overestimate the work which

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is done by the various places of education brought into existence by the Education Act of 1870. The fact that the public schools are principally boarding schools has caused an arbitrary, unscientific line to be drawn between them and the whole system of local schools, to which they historically belong.

Does the cry for Secondary Education mean that we wish to restore one class of local schools to the position which they once occupied? or does it mean that in the future, as to a large extent at the present time, it will not be possible for professional men, who live in large towns, to get their children educated on the professional plane, without incurring the expense of a boarding school? In other words, is the tendency of the new Act to be permanently to depress a large number of local schools, or, on the other hand, to elevate them from their present degradation, and place them where they were when the majority of them were founded?

It is not to the solution of these questions, but to a thoughtful consideration of the subject, that the following essays are directed. The first three are concerned with the history of Local Schools; in them I have largely drawn from Mr. Leach's valuable

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book upon English schools at the Reformation. This naturally leads to the question of endowments, to a contrast between modern and mediæval forms of endowment, to a consideration of the reckless way in which we now spend money on what we call science and art. This naturally tempted me to a few remarks upon subsidizing education.

Chance having placed in my hands some correspondence and journals of the late W. Cory, better known to Etonians as William Johnson, I availed myself of these to give a picture of what a teacher could be, and can be, under the public school system, which has the merit of being drawn from actual facts, and of not being the creation of an idealist.

Having thus introduced some remarks upon the qualification and remuneration of teachers, I approached the subject of the Debateable Land ; that is to say, the area with which any further provision for secondary education will have to deal.

My next subject is Competitive Examinations. Their indirect influence upon our schools has been very great, and no less their influence upon our habits of mind with reference to education. While mentioning Dr. Pridgin Teale's suggestion of ulti-

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mately selecting qualified candidates for the public services by lot, and to some extent approving of his idea, I am not prepared to say that it is practically possible ; at the same time there have been countries in which the rank and file of the army were selected by lot, and in any case it was worth while to mention any scheme which might tend to diminish the necessarily increasing stress of competitive examinations.

The chapter on the Clerical Domination is one which it required some courage to write. Criticism of any body of clergy, though common enough in private life, is indistinguishable to most people from an attack upon religion. Holding, however, as strongly as I do, that the independence of the teaching profession is essential to a sound system of national education, I could not be silent. Had we been accustomed to think of teachers as a body of professional men organized by themselves, as physicians and lawyers are organized, we might possibly have avoided the endless bickerings connected with the position of elementary schools in reference to religious questions.

I do not feel that I have exhausted the subject

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of local and central control. In arguing against local control I am necessarily deprived of the assistance of the strongest point in my favour—I am unable to collect and print evidence from head masters who at present teach under local control: not even a Royal Commission could collect trustworthy evidence on this subject, which might place some head masters, who chose to give evidence, in the position of bringing an indictment against their employers. I did once work for five years under two different bodies of that kind—I believe, in so far as the personality of the gentlemen in question was concerned, under particularly favourable circumstances—but the difficulties of the situation appeared to me inherent and insuperable. Were such bodies subject to periodical popular election, not only would these difficulties be increased tenfold, but others would be created.

Paid councils of education, responsible to a central authority for the administration of large areas,—some half dozen for the whole kingdom,—seem to me the form of administration most likely to do the work required. It is not necessary to inspect, examine, and direct with the minuteness of the

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present Education Department. Organized elementary education was in some respects a new thing in 1870; what we are now concerned with is the organization of an old thing, rather than the creation of a new one. But I may be wrong. Are we really going to try another experiment? to call new schools into being without first ascertaining what can be done with our old ones?

In connection with this question it is necessary to discuss social distinctions. Many of our regulations with regard to elementary schools seem to be suggested by a morbid horror of social distinctions, as if there were something wrong in recognising the fact that increased worldly prosperity means increased privileges in the matter of bringing up one's children; it also means increased obligations. Were the whole of English education from top to bottom rendered gratuitous at one sweep, the parents would rapidly re-assort the schools according to ideas of their own. Unfortunately those ideas would seldom promote any improvement in education: there is a sound form of social distinction, and an unsound. A man who sends his son to a more expensive school, when his improved circumstances justify the expense, acts

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wisely, nay more, patriotically, if his object is to get the boy better trained. If, however, his object is simply self-glorification, his boy may incidentally be benefited, but there is no merit in the act.

In towns a common reason given for not sending children to a particular school, is that certain individual children go there.

To insist that the cost of education for all persons residing in a particular town shall be the same, is to remove one of the most respectable motives for becoming rich. Even philosophers can respect a man who wishes to be wealthy, that his children may have better opportunities of becoming refined than he himself enjoyed.

Whatever classification of schools we eventually adopt, one point must be steadily kept in view ; viz., increased expensiveness in a school should mean more effective methods of teaching. Ultimately the basis of classification should be the number of children taught together ; the smaller the number in the classes, the greater the expense of the education ; the more difficult the subjects taught, the closer the contact of the teacher with the pupil. Surely it is a sound social ambition to wish to bring children into

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contact with men of well-trained minds and refined sympathies, and equally surely it is unsound to confuse such an ambition with vulgarity. As an observer, I cannot, however, refuse to admit that there are people who would be happy to get the social prestige of a good school, without submitting to the obligation of getting their children well taught.

My remarks on the Universities and the training of teachers may not be altogether palatable to University men, but I cannot feel that everybody is necessarily imperfect who has not been to Oxford or Cambridge, any more than I can feel that the one object of a system of national education is to put these Universities at the top of a ladder. There are other Universities ; let us use them.

On the subject of private schools and registration I speak with considerable personal knowledge. I do not know everything, but I know enough to be convinced that an exhaustive inquiry into schools conducted by private adventurers is necessary and just, before any legislation is attempted with reference to them. The attitude towards them at present is hostile, and yet they are under the direct control of the parents who send their children to them ; and

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at any rate in the form of preparatory schools are admitted to be doing valuable work.

Before creating new schools let us organize those in existence, remembering that organizing schools also means organizing examinations: it will be less costly. We shall then perhaps find out what we really want; but in organizing the schools do not let us again run amuck among the schoolmasters.

I began my *Observations of a Foster Parent* with a short essay on the detestability of schoolmasters. Not a few of my reviewers were kind enough to assure me that if all schoolmasters resembled me, they would be less unpopular. I am grateful for the compliment, but I cannot accept it at the expense of my brethren. I have been engaged in teaching now for more than twenty years, and in the course of my career have come into contact with many schoolmasters—public schoolmasters, private schoolmasters, Board schoolmasters. In one way or another I have worked with them all, and my verdict is that there is no class of men who less deserve to be unpopular. To claim for a whole profession that all its members have an equally high sense of duty, that none of them are devoid of tact, that they never succumb to

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the temptations of their position, that they all have the guilelessness of the dove without the wisdom of the serpent, would be ridiculous ; but a profession may fall short of such a very exalted standard without forfeiting its claim to popularity, and I do honestly believe that there is no profession in which such a large number of men work under conditions of equal difficulty, with so large a measure of integrity and unselfishness.

We very often hear of the parent's grievance against the schoolmaster ; we very seldom hear of the grievances of the schoolmaster against the parent. Cases of undue severity on the part of the schoolmaster, of carelessness in matters of business, soon find their way into the newspapers. A parent runs no risk in proclaiming his sorrows ; the counter-charges are never mentioned. In every school there are a certain proportion of boys whose fees are irregularly paid, others whose parents habitually grumble ; but the outside world is never told, and the children of such parents are treated precisely like the rest. In every large school there are teachers who, from comparatively limited means, make things easy for pupils who have very slender claims upon

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them, rather than that their education should suffer in times of unforeseen adversity or temporary pecuniary difficulty. It is the very rarest thing to hear a schoolmaster, even in the society of other schoolmasters, speak otherwise than kindly of his pupils, even of those who give him most trouble; and, as a rule, a true instinct teaches the boys as they grow older to respect the intentions of the severest masters, even though they suffer by their rigour. Still, one must admit that, deservedly or not, schoolmasters are unpopular. The reason is a simple one. Where they do their duty to the children, they involuntarily impose some kind of discipline upon the parents. In day schools this extends to many small things which are apt to be annoying. The unpopularity of compulsory games, for instance, in day schools, is far more often due to the fact that, if a boy is compelled to play a game at a certain time, he cannot do something else—for instance, go out with his father or mother—than to the fact that games are in themselves disliked. And when a child first goes to school, his or her parents for the first time discover that this is not the only child in the world, and that some domestic arrangements

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have to be modified, not because the schoolmaster is a tyrant, but because he has to consider the convenience of more than one family.

Want of faith in the schoolmaster's profession I have shown in my previous book to be due to the fact that our public schools, grammar schools, etc., were, in the middle of this century, absolutely unorganized. There was no central Educational Authority in the country, except such as was indirectly in the hands of the two Universities. But the schools are no longer without internal organization. The improvements that have been made in the last fifty years in the housing of boarders, which are apparent to everybody, are only the external indications of an equally great improvement in methods of teaching and discipline. And all these improvements have been made by the schoolmasters themselves; they have not been forced upon them by a Government department.

No; the schoolmasters do not deserve to be unpopular, though they daily incur unpopularity by their persistent efforts to protect children from the unwisdom of their parents. It would be so easy to give way, and yet they very seldom give way; and

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when they do give way, the persons to whom they surrender are not long in calling them humbugs. Here again it has come under my observation that consideration for the weaknesses of parents is not uncommon among schoolmasters. It may not be in their power to modify the organization of a whole school in deference to the wishes of one particular parent; but they seldom bear any personal grudge, even where the point is pressed with excessive persistence. The contrary case is not uncommon.

If I had only known schoolmasters as a school-boy knows them, I might have spoken less confidently about them. A school-boy, like the British Workman, can see clearly enough defects in the organization under which he works, and is particularly sharp in picking out personal peculiarities and defects. He does not know how difficult it is to remedy things of which he disapproves, how many causes conduce to make some parts of a school unsatisfactory; still less does he see behind the scenes the patient struggle against adverse circumstances, the unselfish determination to make the best of imperfect conditions, the loyalty to a chief

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and an institution when loyalty is difficult but still indispensable.

One of the least satisfactory features of modern political life is the sensitiveness of public men to popular cries. Education is necessarily an unpopular subject; an education bill of any real value would give little, but impose much. An appeal to the short-sighted selfishness of individual parents would be more popular than an appeal to the enlightened selfishness of patriots; a bill which would tempt the individual to see an immediate advantage to himself, would carry more votes than a bill whose object was a general elevation of the educational standard of our middle classes. Such an elevation of standard does not mean an improvement in learning, but an improvement in training; a guiding of our ambitions in the direction of being something, rather than of getting something. In this connection the often-quoted example of Germany is worth mentioning. The middle classes of Germany, especially the population of the towns, are educated in schools of a relatively higher standard than the same classes in England. This has not been brought about by an innate love of learning, residing in the bosom of every

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German tradesman ; it has come into being through the regulations for compulsory service in the army, whose aim was not educational in the first place. It was thought desirable to interfere as little as possible with the career of young men inclined to learning, and therefore it was provided that a young man who had reached a certain standard in his school should be able to claim exemption from the three years' compulsory service in the army, and substitute one year's voluntary service ; it was further arranged that depôts should be located in some university towns, thus enabling the student to fulfil his military obligations with the minimum of interference with his university career.

The unforeseen result has been that boys are sent to schools, whose teaching ranks with that of our public schools, but who would otherwise have been sent to commercial schools, and the whole mercantile class in Germany is better educated. Germans do not learn in these schools anything directly bearing upon mercantile pursuits, any more than they would in the English public schools, but yet we are told that the German tradesman is driving the English tradesman out of the world's markets !

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Even if it were desirable, it would not be possible in England to reproduce such a stringent system, but any system worth trying at all must involve some self-abnegation on the part of our middle class parents, and self-abnegation is not a popular word. The State in England has hitherto been content with giving ; it is time for the State to demand.

Again, regulations interfering with that public enemy, the schoolmaster, are always popular in England. They are however at the present moment less necessary than regulations which may affect the convenience of the individual parent in the interests of the next generation.

I have omitted special reference to Girls' Schools, because in all essentials it seems to me that their position is not different from that of schools intended for boys ; the organization of both, so far as external control is concerned, would be the same.

I

The Reformation and the Schools

THE untutored imagination of humanity is apt to be attracted by the sudden and surprising rather than by the orderly movement of every-day events ; the finger of God is seen rather in storm and earthquake, in battle, murder, and sudden death, than in the myriad deaths and myriad births of every day, in the silently working, never-ceasing operations of heat and cold, cloud and sunshine, in the continuous even march of the universe through space.

This statement is a commonplace of philosophers ; but it is a commonplace that cannot be too frequently insisted on, so deeply does our longing for the marvellous affect our ordinary habits of thought, and interfere with the correctness of our inferences even when we believe ourselves to be pursuing the paths of science.

An excellent illustration of the consequences of this temper of mind is furnished by the way in which

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persons of average information till a very recent period used to classify historical events. For them the records of our race were divided first of all into Ancient and Modern History; the former ended summarily at the Christian era, and was succeeded by the Dark Ages and the Middle Ages, after which there was another abrupt change called the Reformation, at which period Modern History, strictly speaking, began. For fifteen hundred years, according to this conception, the movement of humanity stopped; such events as did happen were of purely antiquarian interest, the more striking among them admirably adapted for the purposes of Sir Walter Scott and other writers of romances, but the whole concatenation of them only to be approached in the spirit in which a young lady looks at a ruin and remarks, "How old!" or "How sweetly quaint!"

Fifty years ago the Reformation was popularly regarded as the very beginning of enlightenment. Up to that time a crass and brutish ignorance was supposed to have prevailed; people prayed to images, sinned freely and abominably, bought Indulgences, worshipped the Pope and the Virgin Mary; then Harlequin, in the person of Henry VIII., gave a slash with his wand, and there was a complete transformation; down tumbled errors and abuses, the Pope was packed off, and everybody began for the first time to read his Bible in the vulgar tongue; after which came the Victorian age and invention of the steam engine.

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Since the middle of this century this view of our history has been considerably modified. To begin with, a large party among our clergy, so far from placing the commencement of the golden age at the Reformation, were rather concerned to prove that there never had been a Reformation, and that the Church of England of to-day was also a contemporary of King Vortigern; men were even found to say a good word for the damnable and papistical errors of Rome. The interest in mediæval history became general and not merely ecclesiastical, stimulated by Sir Walter Scott. One consequence of the change of attitude has been the rediscovery of the documents through which we are able to learn something of social life in our own and other countries before and at the period of the Reformation. There was a time when the MSS. lying hidden in the holes and corners of the muniment rooms and other store-houses of our cathedrals and corporations were regarded as valueless; if they were overhauled at all, it was in the hope of discovering illuminations, copies of the Scriptures, copies of the classics. So recently as when Dean Stanley was a canon at Canterbury, some jackdaws had happened to build their nests with the leaves of MSS. which had been at some time thrust into recesses in the walls of the church; and this event, leading to the rediscovery of many valuable records, nearly contributed to their destruction. They were hastily searched in the usual way, and condemned as worthless; one batch of them,

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with the wooden cupboard in which they were enclosed, was summarily consigned to the stone-mason's yard, where it was found, happily intact, by the late Dr. Sheppard. Now-a-days the smallest scrap of parchment is diligently perused and preserved; there exist learned societies for the publication of such finds, and the magnificent series of publications of the Rolls Office is issued by the Government itself. The flood of light thus thrown upon our history anterior to the Reformation renders the theory of the transformation scene untenable, as untenable it was in any case to every thinking man.

Not among the least interesting of recent contributions to our stock of information regarding English social life before and at the period of the Reformation is a book recently published by Mr. Arthur F. Leach, entitled *English Schools at the Reformation—1546-48*, a book which should materially change our conceptions not only as to the opportunities for being educated, which our forefathers enjoyed in those dark mediæval days, but also as to the extent to which they availed themselves of these opportunities; it is also a book whose lessons are distinctly pertinent to the guidance of our modern educational reformers.

How were the middle classes taught before the Reformation? The popular view is that they were not taught at all till Henry VIII. and his children, especially Edward VI., reserved something from the spoils of the Church endowments for Grammar

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schools. A more enlightened view holds that incidentally the monasteries themselves were teaching establishments, and especially that the friars were not only preachers, but teachers. Some inquirers, arguing from the case of Chaucer, who was brought up as page to Edward III.'s son, Lionel, have seen a form of educational establishment attached to the houses of the great nobility in which all courtly learning could be acquired. None have suspected a general system of national education ; it was simpler to imagine a general darkness and ignorance with which the brilliant sudden light of the Reformation could be contrasted. And yet a very obvious circumstance should have awakened misgivings. The reign of Edward III. gives us at least three popular books in the English language, whose existence is known to everybody : Wycliff's Bible, Walter Langland's *Piers Ploughman*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* ; and the close of the same reign saw Caxton's printing press set up at Westminster. For whom did these men write ? What market was there likely to be for printed books, if the middle classes were uneducated ? The evil habit of writing must be a violent form of insanity indeed if it leads its victims to compose long works in a language which has no readers. It may be objected that Chaucer would find a sufficient number of patrons in courtly circles, that the more enlightened ecclesiastics and the great noblemen were a sufficient public for him ; but how about *Piers Ploughman* ? This

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is certainly not a work adapted to the demands of courtly and ecclesiastical readers. Written in an alliterative rhyming verse, it suggests by its form a popular literature continuous from the Saxon period ; its matter, the glorification of the peasant farmer at the expense of the high and mighty, combined with bitter denunciation of the evil doings of the rich, is certainly addressed to the lower middle classes, unless we are to suppose that the taste for the Kailyard is as old as Edward III., and that John of Gaunt read *Piers Ploughman* as we read a *Window in Thrums*.

Wycliff, again, did more than translate the Bible ; he wrote tracts, for which there must have been English readers.

These are salient examples of the educational standard of the Middle Ages, and in the face of them we cannot say that education for the mass of the people was first thought of in England, only when it was first believed to be of importance that everybody should be able to read the Bible ; indeed, where did those tinkers and others of the baser sort learn to read, who crowded round the Bibles, when they were first chained in our churches ?

Thus we might have anticipated Mr. Leach's statement that England was well supplied with schools before the Reformation, though we should hardly have expected to find that the period of the Reformation was a period of indifference to schools ; it was worse than that, it was a period when schools were

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suppressed. Edward VI. is credited with the foundation of eighty-six grammar schools. Mr. Leach shows us that these were the fortunate, though in some cases sadly maimed, survivors out of some three hundred previously existing schools.

The proportion of Grammar schools to the population of England and Wales before the Reformation was, as nearly as can be calculated, one to every eight thousand three hundred of the population. Whitaker's list of Secondary schools for 1897, taking England and Wales alone, gives about one to every fifty-four thousand.

Such a comparison cannot, however, be pressed too closely, as the middle classes, who should use the secondary schools, are relatively less numerous than they were in the Middle Ages, the proportion of artisans and labourers to the rest of the population being now probably beyond what it ever has been.

Accustomed as we are to chaos in the matter of school organization, familiarized with the spectacle of Grammar schools doing elementary work, and colleges of science overlapping with less pretentious establishments, we might be tempted to assume that Mr. Leach's researches cover the whole of English education, and that his Grammar schools did all the work that was to be done, both elementary and advanced.

This is not the case. Of 259 schools of which the records were preserved in 1546-48, 140 are expressly called grammar schools, 23 are called song schools,

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of which 5 are also called grammar schools, and so have been reckoned among them ; 22 only may possibly be regarded as elementary schools, and there are strong reasons for classing the remaining 79 also with the grammar schools.

To go a little more closely into the question : The schools existing at the Reformation period may be classified in two ways, either by their teaching or by the nature of their endowment.

Classified according to their teaching, we find them called A B C schools, reading schools, writing schools, song schools, grammar schools. The first three obviously correspond to what we now call elementary schools. The business of the song school was primarily to teach children to sing with a priest ; it was what we now call a chorister's school, and such schools were attached to many churches besides those which now support them ; in fact, there seems to have been a liberal provision for musical education throughout the country, the teaching of instrumental music being often part of the business of the song school master.

As it was necessary for the children, who sang with a priest, to be able to read, the song schools did the work of elementary schools in addition to their special work.

Commenting upon the disappearance of the song schools, Mr. Leach says : " Of all the wealth of song schools which then existed outside the cathedrals, the Oxford and Cambridge colleges, and Winchester and Eton, all have perished except the Song School

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at Newark, which has survived, though in a mutilated form, to this day. How many Purcells have we lost? how many Wesleys? not to guess at Beethovens, and Mozarts, for lack of the proper endowment of organists and of song schools!" And again, "We might have been a singing people, and an educated people, three centuries ago, instead of just beginning to be so in the nineteenth century."

The song school was thus a kind of technical school, providing instruction in the special art of music. What were the grammar schools?

The records of the Commissioners of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. unfortunately throw little light upon this question; it is merely stated that a school was a grammar school or song school, the terms being well understood at the time, and demanding no further specification; we have, however, the statutes for Wolsey's school at Ipswich, where there had been a free grammar school from 1483, which was incorporated in "Cardinal College" in 1528. "There were to be eight classes in the school, for which, besides their Lily's Grammar, divers authors were prescribed. In the third form from the bottom they were to read *Æsop* (in Latin) and *Terence*. In the fourth they got to *Virgil*; in the fifth they read *Cicero's Select Letters*; in the sixth *Sallust* or *Cæsar's Commentaries*; in the seventh *Horace's Epistles* and *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, or *Fasti*, and had to write verse-tasks; in the eighth form they abandoned Lily for *Donatus*, and read *Valla* and other ancient Latin

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authors. They also returned to Terence, and were to discuss his life, style, and so forth, with a view, perhaps, to performances like the Westminster play. They were also to learn precis-writing, and to write essays." In fact, the boys at Cardinal College, Ipswich, were to have as complete a training in Latin literature as is ordinarily given in a public school to-day. At Brough-under-Stainmore, in a wild moorland district, we find two dictionaries mentioned as part of the school property ; clearly Latin was taught there then. A visitation was made of the Grammar School at Southwell in 1484, when the inhabitants complained, among other things, that the boys "do not talk Latin in school, but English."

In fact, the grammar school before the Reformation was what the secondary school should be now—the school which gave the preliminary training necessary for the professional and directing classes, and it was thought right that such a school should exist in the desolate wilds of Westmoreland as well as in the populous towns and the rich home counties.

These schools were supported by endowment. Mr. Leach arranges them in eight classes; according to the character of the endowment. They were, according to him, cathedral schools, early college schools, schools in connection with monasteries, later college schools, schools in connection with hospitals, guild schools, chantry schools, independent schools.

Of these eight classes the chantry schools are most largely represented in the reports of the Com-

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missioners, but it does not follow that they were actually the most numerous. The Chantries Act of Edward VI. naturally directed a more particular inquiry into them, and so their story survives; but Mr. Leach is of opinion that there may have been many schools of the early collegiate type whose existence was ignored, and is now forgotten.

These eight classes may be, for practical purposes, reduced to six, as from our present point of view there was little distinction between a cathedral, an early collegiate church, and a late collegiate church.

A college was a community of priests provided to maintain and conduct the services of a church; whether that church happened also to be honoured with the seat of a bishop is of little importance. Similarly, though it is historically interesting that Mr. Leach can mention eleven such colleges with schools attached to them, which are mentioned in "Domesday Book," and therefore go back to Saxon times, their constitution in relation to the school maintained by them is not affected by that fact. All that is important for us to know is that the obligation of maintaining not only a song school, but also a grammar school, was laid upon collegiate churches; and that, too, not only after monastic foundations had lost favour, as they began to do in the thirteenth century, but also before they monopolised the attentions of the pious and wealthy.

Mr. Leach is of opinion that the monasteries have

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not altogether deservedly acquired the reputation of having been benefactors of schools, and of having maintained schools ; he has shown that a monastery might be credited with supporting a school when it was merely the trustee for the endowment ; he inclines to the view that the only active part which the monasteries took in teaching was confined to the education of their own novices, and states that though there is no case in the records of a monk being employed as a schoolmaster, there are cases of laymen being employed by monks to teach the novices. Thus, when Henry VIII. imposed upon the cathedrals of the new foundation the obligation of maintaining the "King's School," he was bringing these establishments into conformity with the constitution of other collegiate churches, not necessarily continuing a monastic school already in existence.

Some of them—Durham, for instance—were already provided with grammar schools, whose endowment was, however, independent of the monastery.

As a school might be attached to a collegiate church, so it might also be attached to a hospital, which was not necessarily a place for relieving sick people, but rather an almshouse. The records of hospital schools are scanty, as the hospitals were exempted from the inquiry of Edward VI. A very famous school existed at Banbury, connected with the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, and said to date from the reign of the victim of Magna Charta. This school, though it was looked upon as a model

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school in 1525, and ranked with Winchester and Eton, has totally disappeared ; its site is forgotten, and the endowment swept away.

Schools were also supported by guilds. In its very early history the word "gild" seems to have been associated with funeral feasts, and a prominent feature in the constitution of nearly all guilds was the provision for the proper burial of its members and the maintenance of prayers for the souls of the deceased. This form of association was found convenient for many other purposes. The existence of trade guilds and craft guilds is well known ; less well known are the wide ramifications of the guild system in English society. Few towns were without guilds, whose functions "ranged from governing the community to giving soup to the poor." Where a guild supported a priest of its own, it was a convenient arrangement to make him also a school-master ; and, in fact, Mr. Leach finds twenty-eight out of thirty-three guilds mentioned in the records actually keeping grammar schools, while the Mercers of London were trustees for three schools, and the Goldsmiths for two.

As one motive which caused a man to join a guild was a desire to ensure a proper provision for prayers being made for his soul after his death, so private individuals solicitous about the same end endowed "chantries" in different churches. A "chantry" was not primarily a building, but simply the endowment of a priest to say prayers at a particular altar at

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certain times. In places like Canterbury Cathedral there must have been an endless succession of priests at the different altars engaged in praying for the souls of men long dead, unless, indeed, they hit upon some compendious method of including a large number of persons in the benefits of single services. The founders of chantries were not, however, content with providing that a priest should pray for them ; they also not infrequently provided that a school should be maintained out of the chantry trust. The number of schools attached to chantries mentioned by Mr. Leach is very large in proportion to those that were maintained in other ways ; in fact, it seems possible that in founding a chantry with the obligations attached to it of maintaining a school, the first object of the pious founder may have been the school and not the chantry.

Mr. Leach says, " The great bulk of the chantries recorded here seem to have been founded in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, and went on in increasing crowds with the spread of wealth among the trading classes right up to the Reformation."

The founders of chantries thus belonging to a class who were progressively inclining to the doctrine of the Reformers, the question naturally arises, whether the school were not attached to the chantry in order to strengthen the foundation of the school. A will in favour of a mere school would not be certain of being respected equally with a will in favour of a chantry, which could not be set aside by the heirs without

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involving them in the curse of sacrilege. Moreover, all legal powers relating to wills were in the hands of the ecclesiastical courts, who would have a direct interest in the proper administration of a will by which a priest was endowed.

Schools independent of any other foundation were scarce ; still there were some. The founder of Sevenoaks Grammar School as early as 1432 even said that the schoolmaster was not to be a priest. Oswestry Grammar School seems to have been independent, and the foundation of St. Paul's School is an indication of the line that things were taking at the Reformation ; its first head master was a layman. On the whole, even from the records that we have, it is clear that our country was well supplied with schools before the days of Edward VI. The records that we have are defective for two reasons : one is that a large number of the original documents have disappeared ; the other, that as the more searching inquiry was directed to religious foundations, schools well known to be independent would not have been included.

The schools were destroyed under the Chantries Acts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. There is an interesting difference between these Acts.

The first part of King Henry's Act assigned to the king all the property belonging to "Colleges, Free chapelles, Chantries, Hospitalles, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds, and Stipendarie Priests," the reason given being that the intentions of the founders

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were not being carried out, and that the king wanted the money for his French and Scotch wars. The second paragraph of the same Act states the king's intention of reorganizing the chantries, etc., and practically exempts such institutions as were under purely lay control.

Within two years the king died, and the power to issue a warrant for the execution of the Act died with him.

A new Chantries Act was, however, one of the first Acts of the reign of Edward VI., and this time the reason given for attacking the chantries was a doctrinal one. The repudiation of the doctrine of Purgatory involved the abolition of prayers for the dead, and therefore of chantries; they, and all other institutions founded for the purpose of praying for the dead, were to be abolished by the simple process of handing their property over to the king.

It is to the reports of the Commissioners who were sent to inquire into the properties of these chantries, etc., that we owe our knowledge of the existence of the schools.

It was unquestionably the intention of Edward VI.'s advisers to make provision for the foundation of grammar schools. The Commissioners had power to continue schools when they already existed; but unfortunately the reign was a disturbed one, money was wanted, the work of destruction was more important, because more profitable, than that of reconstruction, and such schools as survived did so chiefly

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upon the insecure tenure that the stipend of the schoolmaster was to be paid till further orders.

When Henry VIII. or Edward VI. is called the founder of a school, it commonly means that the property of a previously existing school having been vested in the king by one of the Acts mentioned, he generously gave back part of it, or allowed the persons who were interested in the school to buy back whole or part of the endowment.

In cases in which a fixed payment was continued, the school eventually suffered severely, for it did not benefit by the rise in the value of land, or, to put it another way, lost by the decreased value of money.

Had all the endowments available for school purposes in the reign of Edward VI. been continued to be applied to those purposes, secondary education would have been well provided for to-day; it would have profited by the unearned increment as the schools at Birmingham and Dulwich, a post-Reformation school, have profited.

We gather from the records that in only a few cases was any serious effort made to retain the school in the locality in which it existed; people were ready enough to pray that it might be continued, but there are only a few honourable exceptions to the rule, that localities made but feeble attempts to re-found their schools.

For this there were probably two reasons—one a good one, the other a bad one. The association of the schools with the clergy and with the teaching of Latin

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probably prejudiced even enlightened members of the Reformation party in the middle classes against them. Again, the Reformation in its later stages was distinctly an upheaval of ignorance : the value of the old methods of training was not understood ; " the baser sort," armed with the text of the Bible, thought all other learning superfluous ; they regarded it, as classical learning is regarded by the scientific smatterer of to-day, as antiquated and superstitious. In Germany, according to Dr. Scherer, this attitude of mind contributed to the Counter-reformation ; for contempt for learning having destroyed the teachers, when in the fulness of time the want of them was felt, the Jesuits were ready to take their place. In England Elizabeth's Parliaments protested once and again against the action of the bishops who ordained lewd and ignorant men ; the bishops replied that none other were to be found. Already the want of the schools was being felt.

The other reason was simply indifference. It is possible to respect earnest but ill-informed persons, who might see in the local grammar schools a hot-bed of Papistry, and who might reasonably associate Latin with the abominations of the scarlet woman ; but one cannot be otherwise than indignant with the large number of well-to-do people who must have simply folded their hands and allowed their school to drag on unaided " till further orders."

The troubles of the schools did not end with the Chantries Act ; they were again attacked in the days

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of that necessitous monarch James I., when the endowments of some of them were confiscated on the ground that there had been concealments of Church property, and evasion of the Chantries Act in the reign of Edward VI.

At the present time we are allowing our Grammar schools to perish by neglect ; instead of strengthening them, we create rival institutions. There is no more intelligent conception of their possibilities now than there was at the period of the Reformation.

II

Some Aspects of the Endowment of Education

ARCHBISHOP ROTHERHAM, one of the earliest scholars of Eton and Kings, founded Rotherham College, just outside Sheffield, in 1437. This school might have been another Eton, and was unquestionably intended to be so by its founder ; his motive was thankfulness for the schoolmaster, who "by some divine chance" had found his way to Rotherham and at one time taught him. We may assume that this happened before the future archbishop went to Eton. This is an instance of the foundation of a school due to an unqualified respect for learning ; the good archbishop wished other persons to enjoy the same opportunities to which he felt that he himself owed so much.

There survive a sufficient number of similar statements in the documents drawn up by pious founders to have promoted a very general conviction that

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there was a time when learning was commonly valued for its own sake, when there really existed among our countrymen a generous and widespread enthusiasm for education in the broadest sense of the word ; and it might seem that the ample provision made for schools before the Reformation, as proved by Mr. Leach, furnishes overwhelming evidence in support of this view. We might be tempted hastily to reproach the men of to-day with the superior wisdom and generosity of their forefathers.

Even if we admit that the very large number of persons who founded chantries to which schools were attached were impelled to do so, in the first place, because they wished to have a short experience of the pains of purgatory, the fact remains that in the second place they founded schools, and not alms-houses or churches or monasteries.

Again, the modern philanthropist might argue from the almost invariable occurrence of the terms "free school," or "free teaching," and the equally frequent mention of "poor persons" as those to be benefited by an educational institution, that the promotion of learning among the lowest classes of the community was in the forefront of the social ambitions of our ancestors. Our Grammar schools were disastrously re-organized in accordance with this view after the Endowed Schools Commission, and have been steadily and progressively depressed ever since.

It is quite certain that the "poor children" of the Middle Ages were not the poor children of to-day.

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The majority of the mediæval schools were founded when the labouring classes were still serfs. Parliament actually petitioned at one time that serfs should not be allowed to go to the universities or schools ; it was not for them that Latin was taught at Brough-under-Stainmore.

Again, the founders of schools are bishops, lords, country gentlemen, or wealthy citizens ; they frequently reserve special privileges for founders' kin. Would they have included their own relatives among the poor scholars, if these scholars were the sons of artisans and labourers, at a time when class distinctions were very sharply drawn ?

"Poor" after all is a relative term ; the majority of us could justly describe ourselves as "poor" in comparison with a Vanderbilt, and yet have no claim to charitable relief.

In the Middle Ages the word "poor" was frequently a mere complementary epithet : "Your Majesty's poor servants" included many persons who were not only not poor, but positively rich ; no one was ashamed so to designate himself who was not actually one of the great feudal nobles. Further, if we ask ourselves where there would have been facilities for being educated, had there been no grammar schools, we see at once that there were such facilities in the households of the nobility and the great ecclesiastics, but not elsewhere. A Chaucer, the son of a London vintner, might have an opportunity of being taught with the pages of a prince ;

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but for the ordinary middle-class man there were no such facilities. The Church could not help as it does now. Accustomed as we are to see the clergy taking the lead in all matters pertaining to education, we forget that there was a time when the business of a priest was simply to say mass, and administer the Sacraments, and when what we now call "parish work" was a rare exception. Chaucer's "poore Person of a tounne" was not the rule, as we may gather from the very lines in which that beautiful character is described.

In this use of the word "poor," as in the use of many other words, we are misled, by forgetting the changes that our current vocabulary suffers; for instance, when we are told that the father of Thomas Cromwell was a blacksmith, and that Oliver Cromwell was a grazier, we instantly picture to ourselves the worthy parent of the one shoeing a horse, and the other arrayed in a smock-frock driving an unwilling cow to market; but in the reign of Henry VIII., Lord Armstrong might have been styled a blacksmith, and many people who now call themselves country gentlemen would have been called graziers in the reign of Charles I. Chaucer's father, as a "vintner," suggests a "jug and bottle" business; how if we call him a wine merchant?

Again, we ourselves still use the word "poor" as a term of compassionate tenderness; however rich a man may be, we call him "poor fellow," even when he is suffering from misfortunes that do not affect

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his income ; and it is the epithet which we habitually apply to deceased persons. It is rather in this sense that the founders of schools used the word "poor" in alluding to the children of their own class ; viz., as an expression of kindliness, not as a technical definition of their social position.

Mr. Leach has clearly demonstrated that "free schools" and "free teaching" did really imply teaching grammar without fees ; but even then there was a possibility of extras, and there is evidence that it was the custom to supplement the teacher's salary by free-will offerings. At Durham it was expressly stated that the grammar school master was to take the normal fees from well-to-do people ; just as the rich man of to-day thinks it incumbent upon him to pay a high fee for a surgical operation, so the rich man of by-gone days thought himself mean if he did not pay an "honorarium" to his son's teacher. It is not fifty years since an Eton boy, on taking leave of the Head Master, presented him with a five-pound note ; and we know that the majority of them were considerably embarrassed on the occasion.

There remains the question as to how far the endowment of schools involved a genuine appreciation of learning.

Was there ever a time when it was universally felt that learning in itself is a good thing apart from the collateral advantages which it may bring ?

Probably not. Studious persons in all ages have chanted the praises of wisdom. Solomon is not the

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only sage who has declared her value to be beyond rubies ; but the vehemence with which her votaries insist upon her surpassing merits is in itself evidence that their enthusiasm is not shared by the mass of their contemporaries. Nobody has thought it necessary to preach upon the text of the desirableness of riches ; our teachers only deal with facts which are not obvious to the multitude, who, indeed, do not require to be told that it is desirable to be wealthy and powerful.

Furthermore, a close analysis of the teaching of the majority of those who sing the praises of learning reveals the fact that their admiration of learning is largely due to the fact that they believe other things to be secured by learning, such as an enlightened morality, or a greater command over the material world around us. When Charles Knight wrote his little book on the text " Knowledge is power," he was thinking of the steam engine, the electric telegraph, and other mechanical appliances, which are rendered possible by a knowledge of the laws in obedience to which matter is moved or transformed. Similarly Socrates is credited with having taught that a man is vicious through ignorance ; did he know what was really good for him, he would not do what was contrary to this knowledge.

On the other hand, we cannot but admit that the very idea of learning is distasteful to the average human being. Whenever there is a general dislocation of society ; when barbarians burst in upon us from

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their native wilds, or the savage, who, though under discipline, is always present in civilized communities, breaks his bonds; when a Reformation or a French Revolution lets loose the brutish forces that have been held in subjection,—learning is immediately attacked, libraries and works of art are wantonly destroyed, the contemplative man is not merely ignored, he is molested, and the precious results of his contemplations are burned, torn, or otherwise annihilated.

When our forefathers founded grammar schools,—that is to say, schools in which Latin was taught,—they were not thinking of Latin as a teaching instrument, or of the learning of Latin as a moralizing process; they were providing for the one indispensable introduction to all the professions and all the sciences. In the Middle Ages no Volopuk or artificial universal language was necessary; there was a universal language ready to hand, and in daily use. When the inhabitants of Southwell complained that Latin was not spoken in their school, but only English, they spoke from the same point of view as a merchant of to-day might speak who sent his son to a tutor's to learn French for business purposes, and discovered that French was not spoken in the establishment, only written. There was no more enthusiasm then than there is now for learning in the abstract. And yet, in spite of their restricted appreciation of learning, the middle classes of those days had their reward. From the reign of Edward IV. onwards our sovereigns found in this class their most

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valuable servants, who were no longer introduced to public life through the channel of the Church, but who were taken straight from their warehouses and counting-houses to the king's treasury. Such persons were Dudley and Empson, of unpopular memory ; to the same class belonged Henry VIII.'s minister, Thomas Cromwell, and many other well-known figures of the time. Queen Elizabeth's reign was essentially a middle-class reign ; her popularity was largely based upon the encouragement that she habitually gave to enterprising men of the middle classes, even to men such as Drake and Hawkins, whom our stricter morality would class with pirates,—men who proved themselves fit for the work which she placed in their hands.

The consequences of the suppression of schools in 1546-48 were not immediately felt ; still, if we compare the Elizabethan drama with that of the reign of Charles II., we see at once that already the audiences must have been different. Even to-day, though aided by all the magnificence of the material appointments of the Lyceum, a Shakespearean play is less popular than *Charley's Aunt* ; and in the provinces Mr. Benson's excellent company does not draw like the *Private Secretary*. The men who enjoyed the productions of the Elizabethan drama must have been well-informed men of a reflective habit of mind. In the reign of Charles II., Samuel Pepys, surely an alert personage, could see little to admire in them except the processions.

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We do not now-a-days attach much value to mediæval science ; it appears to us both fanciful and fabulous ; but it did not appear so to earnest readers in the Middle Ages. Pliny's *Natural History* was to them what Darwin's *Voyage of the Beagle* is to us. Nor did speculations upon botany and zoology cease with the silver age of Latin literature. Chaucer could have consulted contemporary herbals, contemporary works on astrology and alchemy, and they would have been written in Latin. Nor was there wanting a contemporary light Latin literature ; there were rhyming songs as well as hymns, political satires in verse.

Latin, in fact, was the key to all information ; as such it was studied, and not from merely æsthetic and pedagogic considerations. There was not that sharp line between scientific and literary pursuits which is an unfortunate feature of the learning of to-day, and which leads some men of letters to deplore the scientific phraseology of George Eliot's later works. Shakespeare is crammed with science, so is Milton, so at an earlier date is Chaucer ; it is true that their science is not our science.

Too much has been made of the statement that Shakespeare possessed "small Latin and less Greek," and of his indebtedness to North's Plutarch. He was not a "scholar" in the modern sense of the word, but he was unquestionably a scholar in the most noble sense which the word can convey ; his mind was open to all possibilities of information ; and we

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arrive at this fact, not by considering the plots of his plays, but by studying his allusions ; his vocabulary is the vocabulary of a learned man. What, then, of his audience ? A playwright, more than any artist, must write in the language of his time ; he cannot be too abstruse for the majority of his contemporaries, under penalty of failure to secure their attention. In short, such a phenomenon as the language of Shakespeare's plays is sufficient evidence of the existence of a well-informed and highly-cultivated middle class. Had he written only for readers, as Milton wrote, the width of his learning would not necessarily imply a general diffusion of learning ; a man who writes only to be read, may easily write ahead of his contemporaries. But the conditions of the theatre are different. None but a well-informed audience can appreciate the productions of a well-informed author.

Finally, we may conclude that the mediæval grammar school or Latin school was not really different in its aims from a modern technical school. Latin was the key to technical and scientific information ; as such it was studied, written, and spoken ; and it continued to be both written and spoken long after its utility had ceased from the point of view of the political and scientific man.

If then the practical advantages of a knowledge of Latin were so obvious, why was it necessary to endow schools and teachers ? Or, why was it thought expedient ? Surely persons who could teach a language so obviously desirable to be ac-

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quired must have been secure of finding both pupils and payment !

Obviously this was not the case ; it was so far from being the case, that a common form of later mediæval endowment is not the foundation of a school, but the assignment of payment to a teacher, who is bound to teach, it is true, in a particular locality, but who is not provided with premises, any more than the chantry priest was necessarily provided with a chapel or a church, but was paid in most cases to say masses at an existing altar. The persons who assigned stipends to teachers must have been convinced not only that teachers were a desirable institution, but also that they were not likely to be a self-supporting institution, in spite of the practical advantages of being learned. In other words, there was a general conviction that parents would avail themselves of the services of an endowed teacher, but could not be depended upon to pay him themselves.

We have ourselves pushed this view of things even further. In spite of the manifest practical advantages of being able to read and write, we do not merely provide elementary schools free of cost, but we compel unwilling parents to send their children to them. In other words, we have assumed, rightly or wrongly, that the leisure of the children is not likely to be respected by their parents ; and that even though they can send their children to school free of cost, they will prefer to keep them at home, or let them

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ramble about the streets, or send them to work prematurely.

Similarly the large gifts that are occasionally made to the educational institutions of to-day are made to institutions which should be self-supporting. Literature and pure mathematics, whose attractions are not of an obviously practical nature, receive no fresh endowments ; science and technical instruction, which are supposed to lead to money-getting proficiencies, receive large emoluments ; and yet to the teachers of these parents should be willing to pay adequate fees, even though they see no merit in instruction by means of dead languages.

Ultimately we have to accept the fact that at any particular period only a small minority see the necessity for the maintenance of any form of learned institution, and that a pure and enlightened patriotism may well find its expression in the endowment of schools and colleges.

III

Endowment of Teachers

ADAM SMITH, surely a 'high authority, discussing the question of educational endowments, pronounces decidedly against them. The ordinary laws of supply and demand should not be interfered with, he thinks, in educational matters any more than in mercantile transactions. A bounty upon Latin appeared to him as undesirable as a bounty upon sugar.

Adam Smith was unfortunate in his opportunities for measuring the effects of endowment ; he went to Balliol College, Oxford, at the period of perhaps the lowest tide of our English Universities, and he attributed the idleness and inefficiency of the professors of those days to the security which they enjoyed ; no matter what they taught, nor how they taught, their income remained, and he inferred that were the teacher entirely dependent on the fees of his pupils,

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he would be neither idle nor ineffective ; he would teach well in self-defence.

There is much to be said for Adam Smith's view but his arguments do not cover all the ground.

Two very important facts eluded his observation : first, that many men can fill a lecture-hall, who are not particularly learned ; while a teacher may be both industrious and profound, and yet incapable of presenting his knowledge in an attractive form ; such a man might starve if unendowed, while a shallow personage with a gift for talking might gather in a large income. Secondly, the value of intellectual work of the highest, or even a high order, can seldom be measured at the time of its production, precisely because it is of a rare quality, it can only be appreciated by the few. A decided step on in any of the arts and sciences is apt to be fatal to the man who takes it. A Beethoven does not at once win popular approval ; such a man usually spends his life in teaching his contemporaries to appreciate his discoveries ; if he lives long enough, he sometimes reaps his reward in his own lifetime, but more commonly dies in destitution, and unrecognised.

Music, in fact, was only able to live at one time by allying itself with the stage. A successful opera paid its composer better than a successful symphony. Later on the oratorio took to some extent the place of the opera. Similarly, in the world of letters, the writer who is at the level of the average ignorance of his day will have a larger number of readers than he

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who writes for all time. It was better worth a man's while at the end of the last century to be a Samuel Richardson than a Samuel Johnson : it is at least as lucrative now to be a Marie Corelli or Hall Caine as even to be a George Eliot.

Sound teaching is a form of intellectual and moral activity which essentially looks forward to the future ; it is apt to escape the observation of the present, and its effects are only seen when the laws of supply and demand cease to affect the teacher.

Adam Smith also failed to see that there are many men whose presence in such a community as the English University is of immense value to the general work of the place, who are incapable of forcing themselves upon raw students, or even of appearing in a lecture-room, whose best influence does not lend itself to that form of production.

Such a man was in our own time Henry Bradshaw, University Librarian at Cambridge, and Fellow of King's. His direct contact with the undergraduate world was of the slenderest description, and purely social, after a manner peculiar to himself ; he did not lecture, he held no college office, he did not even publish books, and yet few men did more for Cambridge. Professing ignorance upon all subjects, there were few subjects in which he was not competent to give assistance to specialists ; no one who consulted Bradshaw went away empty-handed. His life was a continued testimony to the dignity of learning, a protest against slovenliness, a mirror of refinement ;

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his minute accuracy, his boundless information, his scientific procedure in his own special line, were a standard by which all might measure their own achievements, whether in arts or in sciences, and be thereby stimulated to fresh effort.

An unworldly man, he was a sound adviser in worldly matters, but if he had had to depend for a livelihood upon the reputation of being a popular lecturer, he would have starved ; a system of endowment, which renders such a man's work possible, is worth maintaining. If we could be reasonably hopeful that of every ten "idle fellows" one would be a Bradshaw, we might congratulate ourselves upon the profitable investment of our money ; we should not lose were the proportion even smaller.

Darwin's work gave a new impetus to the study of life in all its forms, whether animal or vegetable. By suggesting new principles of classification, it rendered possible the discovery of facts hitherto ignored ; it established once for all the importance of small things, of gradual processes, of infinite patience. His life was a model of scientific procedure, but would it have paid him, had he been dependent upon the demand for what he supplied ?

Again, the man who teaches successfully is seldom the man who pursues research ; the teacher is subordinate to the man of learning ; the qualities which enable a man to be exceptionally learned are seldom combined with those other qualities which make him a capable exponent of learning ; but the very learned

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man is none the less necessary to the existence of the teacher.

To descend from universities to schools, it might be thought that the advantages of good teaching are so obvious, its results so evident, that the payment of teachers might safely be left to the discretion of parents. Experience has proved repeatedly that this is not the case, and for the simple reason that there never has been a time, and there never will be a time, when a teacher's work will be capable of being measured in its entirety by his employers ; a teacher's most valuable work least often shows an immediate result.

On the whole, our forefathers were wise in their generation when they adopted a form of educational endowment, which provided at any rate a minimum stipend for teachers on a by no means ungenerous scale.

Modern endowment runs in quite another direction ; we endow the persons who are taught. Such an institution as our Science and Art Department practically bribes the parent to allow his children to learn particular subjects ; for compliance with the demands of South Kensington means a minimum of school fees. It might even be said that day by day we advance further in the direction of encouraging the parent to believe that the instruction of his children is not a thing for which he can be expected to pay. Parents who stint themselves, that their children may be well educated, will soon be an absurd phenomenon ; already well-to-do tradesmen send their chil-

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dren to elementary board schools so that they may be able to compete for County Council scholarships.

So far from endowing the teacher, we have almost rendered him superfluous ; we establish a major-general at South Kensington as comprehensive head master, and it will probably not be long before we discover that a police officer is competent to see that the regulations of the department are carried out in local schools and colleges.

A couple of copies of a provincial newspaper furnish us with a satisfactory illustration of the distance that we have travelled in the depreciation of teaching. The first gives us a report of the proceedings of a Town Council with reference to the technical instruction in a recently-built Technical College ; in the second, we find that the Chairman of the Technical Instruction Committee of the same College has been interviewed by a representative of the newspaper in question.

The town which is the scene of this educational enterprise can boast with reason of having shown itself exceptionally enlightened for the last sixty years of its history. In building a Technical College it has acted in accordance with the spirit of its nobler ambitions ; in overlooking the importance of teachers it is merely following the prevalent tendency of the country at large, which tendency it also follows in preferring to create a new institution rather than strengthen and extend the work of an old one, for it possesses a well-equipped Grammar school, whose

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head master is in sympathy with science teaching, and whose endowments can be shown to have existed before the year of grace 1291.

Let us take the Town Council first. The Technical Instruction Sub-Committee *re* Classes, had reported the receipt of the following letter (from a local magnate): “. . . you will probably have heard direct from the county authorities that the County Education Committee cannot see their way to give us any grant towards a principal's salary, but will favourably consider the question of giving us an increased building grant. I think their decision might have been different, but their annual expenditure already exceeds the amount set aside by the County Council.” Then follows a statement that the writer and two other munificent gentlemen of the locality are prepared to give between them £70 a year for two years towards the expenses of administration “should a suitable person be appointed.”

“With regard to the question of the appointment of a director of studies, which the Committee considered essential to the success of the college, the Committee reported as follows on the financial position.” Follows the report, which the Committee themselves summarise in the following terms :—

	£	s.	d.
“General Receipts amounting to . . .	805	0	0
Receipts from the Science Classes . . .	545	0	0
Receipts from the Art Classes . . .	300	0	0
	<hr/>		
Total. . . .	£1,650	0	0

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	£	s.	d.
General Expenses	665	1	2
Expenses on Science Classes . .	460	0	0
Expenses on Art Classes	245	0	0
	<hr/>		
Total	£1,370	1	2
	<hr/>		

leaving a balance of £279 18s. 10d. Out of this it is proposed to put aside £200 for the salary of the director of studies, leaving a reserve balance of £79 18s. 10d."

"Alderman A said it was a pity they had to depend to some extent upon outside help in order to carry on the college for the next two years. If at the end of that time the engagement of a director of studies had not proved successful, they would have to discontinue his services. They hoped, however, that the college would be a success, and that they would be able to carry it on without pecuniary loss. Unless they were liberally endowed from outside they would not be able to carry it on."

So far the Town Council and the Instruction Committee, speaking officially and in a business-like manner.

Now for the chairman of the Technical Instruction Committee and his Interviewer.

The report begins with the customary liveliness of the journalist, who, before entering upon his serious business, frisked on the pavement with three burghers, one of whom stigmatised the new college as the "town's latest white elephant!"

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The journalist was then conducted over the building by the clerk of the works ; hear him !

“The mere enumeration of the rooms would make a list as long and tedious as that of the ships in the second book of the *Iliad*, for on the three floors almost half a hundred rooms”—why did not he say the two hundred-thousandth part of ten million rooms?—“are conveniently arranged. Entering the handsome vestibule, with pillared arches overhead, the visitor is confronted by the broad staircase with a long row of high, light, well-appointed rooms on either hand. Provision has been made here for a chemical laboratory, a physical lecture-room, three classrooms, and rooms for engineering, drawing, optical experiments, and photography. Then, passing the Italian workmen engaged in laying down the beautiful corridor pavement in a substratum of fireproof material, we reach the first floor, which is practically entirely devoted to art. Here are classrooms especially adapted for elementary work, the antique, life classes, paintings, modelling, *and a large room* $95 \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ *feet*, with a good northern light. . . . Continuing our cursory survey, a descent to the semi-basement brings us to the joinery and plumbing workshops, the physical laboratory, the lockers, and rooms adapted for the teaching of domestic economy. . . . But the furnishing has to be commenced with, and ought to be carried out on a careful and elaborate scale. But time presses and money is scarce.”

After this glowing description, we are surprised to

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learn that the building is still defective ; it has no lecture-hall or museum. No lecture-hall ! though it already has a large room, $95 \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ feet ! The floor space of Westminster Hall is only eight times as large.

After this comes the interview with the man "to whose unflagging energy, indomitable perseverance, and clear recognition of the educational requirements of the day, the erection of the college is really due."

Here are some of his statements ; this is how he begins. "We shall do something more than concentrate our present classes. We shall eventually embrace all the branches of technical education. The laundry and cookery classes are at present under the direction of the School Board, but we hope to have the direct control of them. We shall be able to substantiate our claim when we have provided the necessary accommodation. . . . Particular attention will be paid to commercial education in the French and German languages—most important subjects most inadequately appreciated. We shall take up, in fact, every subject that bears upon the work of the district, and will bring out the particular bent of a student's mind."

We must pause for a moment to consider what is implied in these last statements. The town already has a good grammar school, in which French and German are taught, but apparently not "in a way which will bring out the particular bent of a student's

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mind," not commercially ; otherwise there is no occasion for these classes at the technical college.

Again, the School Board already teaches laundry work and cooking ; an excellent arrangement. Why interfere with it ? Why provide the necessary accommodation at the college which is already provided by the board schools, and why classify the teaching of French and German commercially with washing and cooking ? Perhaps "commercially" is the qualification that renders this possible.

But then will the first floor, with its handsome Italian pavements, its rooms entirely devoted to art, its antiques and its life classes, find itself in complete harmony with the odour of the stew-pan and the reek of the wash-tub ?

What a text for a sermon ! but that particular sermon must be for the present deferred. Let us listen to our enthusiast on the subject of a director of studies.

"At first we intend to have a gentleman who can organize and develop the college. My committee has decided to advertise for a director of studies, *who will have to perform a multiplicity of duties*. He will undertake the general superintendence of the college, advise the committee about its management, conduct correspondence with the educational authorities, regulate the subjects of study, and,—most important of all in the eyes of the ratepayer,—keep a keen watch upon the income and expenditure of the college.

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For the performance of these difficult and delicate tasks we offer a salary of £200 per annum. The director ought to be a man of scientific training—an expert in educational matters ; *but we shall not expect him to take part in the teaching.*”

In answer to a question about the personnel of the college staff, Mr. B. said that “as far as possible the present staff would be retained, but developments and changes would ultimately be necessary. They sought to attain efficiency by providing the best teachers, who, by the aid of the best and most complete apparatus, would work on the best and most advanced methods.”

What a dear old phrase this is ! Let us see what inducement is offered to teachers to make themselves competent to use the best and most complete apparatus or what opportunity they are likely to have of turning the Italian pavement and all the rest of it to the best advantage.

After devoting £200 a year to the director of studies, and £79 18s. 10d. to reserve—careful Committee !—we have £1,370 1s. 2d. left, of which £368 per annum is at once swallowed up by redemption of the building fund, leaving us practically £1,000 for maintenance and teachers’ stipends. Maintenance comes to £297 1s. 2d., which we may be justified in calling £300. Brooms have a way of wearing out, washing soda gets wasted, pipes burst occasionally ; all this might swallow up £2 18s. 10d., even under the management of an efficient director

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of studies. This leaves us £700 for the salaries of teachers.

We are told in another part of the interview that the number of pupils is 500, which allows one teacher at £140 a year to each 100 pupils; and the pupils may be learning chemistry, physics, engineering, drawing, modelling, French and German, commercially, and everything else that tends to "bring out the particular bent of a student's mind."

What an enlightened nation we are when walking encyclopedias, with the Latin and Greek pages torn out, can be found to teach on the best possible methods for £140 a year!

The fact is, that the Quaker's curse has fallen upon our educational aspirants; the spirit of bricks and mortar has broken out in them.

Money can be got for a building; it cannot be got for a teacher. What is the history of our University Colleges of Science all over the country? First, men without buildings, then buildings without money; and the latter state is worse than the first. The County Council previously referred to could allow its expenditure to exceed its income in the interests of a building, but not to provide that building with a suitable teacher, leaving it, in fact, a bell without a clapper.

Think of the multiplicity of functions to be carried on by the director of studies, whose scientific training must have prepared him to judge of the efficiency of the processes employed by the best laundry-maids

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provided with the best washing-tubs, as well as of the best drawing-master supplied with the best antiques, and the best chemist, and the best physicist, and metallurgist, and geologist, and parish dustbin sweeper-out—for that, too, is a technical proficiency demanded by the requirements of the district.

Granted that such a man were possible, would he leave other work for £200 a year, *guaranteed for two years only*? It would not pay a certificated master to leave a board school on these terms.

The county in which this college has been built sets aside, according to the report of the Commissioners on Secondary Education, £13,163 from local taxation for educational purposes. Had this sum been divided into salaries of £400 per annum for teachers, more than thirty teachers would have been found for the county, at an income which would have attracted properly-qualified men. A town which provides £300 a year from its rates for the erection and maintenance of satisfactory lecture-rooms can find sufficient teaching appliances for a sufficient staff of these lecturers; but it might have to forego Italian pavements, and leave clear starching to the board schools. There are also three county boroughs in the same county appropriating £4,039 to education.

The endowment of teachers without buildings on the mediæval system mentioned before is at least economical; the modern system of finding the buildings, paying the pupil, and leaving the teacher to

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chance, is expensive and absolutely ineffective ; it is also hideously wasteful from many points of view, but the consideration of that question must be left to a future occasion.

What would be the work of our director of studies in the present instance ? He is not to teach, but to superintend and conduct correspondence. How, then, could his success or failure demonstrate itself ? By beating up the highways and hedges for pupils ? Or by writing begging letters on behalf of the college, so that his salary might be increased and continued ? Or by making out a case for his college, which would enable it to get a grant from the Treasury ? All these things, and not teaching, are a large part of the functions of the principals of other local colleges, whose buildings are equally magnificent, equally provided with the best apparatus, and which cannot pay their professors with certainty, or on a scale which would attract any sane man to the profession of teaching who could look forward and could get other work. Our director of studies in the present case would have done better to enter the police force ; a man capable of possessing such high qualifications could certainly have risen to be a superintendent, and then not only would his salary have been as large or larger, but it would have been permanent, and would have carried a pension with it at a comparatively early age.

So far our modern educational endowment has run in the direction of paying for buildings and apparatus on the one hand, and of paying persons to be taught

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on the other. The evils of this latter system require a paper to themselves ; which, however, we will defer for a while. Figures are fatiguing. Let us take a rest in the society of Science and Art !

IV

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IT might seem to the casual observer that the age of educational endowment is over. Whether it is that wealthy persons have ceased to be anxious about the pains and penalties of purgatory, or that they no longer regard the teaching of other people's children as a proper object of benevolence, pious founders, on a large scale, such as Henry VI. and the Lady Margaret, have ceased from among us; the solitary exception made by a vendor of pills, possibly of uneasy conscience, serving only to prove the rule.

But while Holloway College is alone in its magnificence as an example of individual gifts, designed in our own time to further the cause of education, smaller benefactions have not ceased, and the nation collectively endows on a large scale. The Education Act of 1870 and its successors may be looked upon as a national endowment of education; for whether the money is paid from taxes or from rates, the nation collectively spends a very large annual sum in providing instruction for the children of those who, from

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want of will or want of money, would not pay for it themselves.

Individual benefactions of recent years have taken almost exclusively the direction of benefactions to local colleges of science and to various technical colleges. The Treasury also pays fairly large sums to the support of certain individual local colleges of science, while the annual expenditure of the Department of Science and Art amounted to £666,308 in 1893-94, and forty-eight County Councils spent in the same period £391,598 in technical instruction; these two last items taken together alone amount to £1,057,906.

If we are asked what has been done in the direction of continuing the mediæval endowments to grammar schools, since the wealth and population of this country began their unprecedented rate of expansion in the present century, we are obliged to admit "almost nothing." It is true that Marlborough, and Cheltenham, and Clifton, and Wellington, and some half dozen other large schools, have grown up on quite modern foundations to rival the older endowed schools, such as Eton and Winchester, while a few small local grammar schools, such as Uppingham and Sherbourne, have entered upon a new and glorious life as large boarding schools. But these schools have grown unaided by the State, and with a minimum of assistance from private munificence. They are still subject to the fluctuations of fashion; a succession of epidemics, or even of unpopular though strenuous

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head masters, might seriously cripple, if not destroy any one of them. In spite of their apparent wealth, and the considerable fees which are paid for their pupils, the struggle with ways and means is always pressing on them ; and the rate of payment of the staff is such that the more enterprising teachers, when boarding-houses cannot be found for them, leave them in despair of ever being able to maintain a wife and family on their scanty stipends. For the present the question of the adequate payment of teachers must be deferred ; meanwhile, the conclusion to which we are brought is that money has been found during the present century,—if not at a rate duly proportionate to the increase of the national wealth, still in some proportion,—for the teaching of certain subjects, classed as scientific and technical ; while for the purposes of comprehensive education above the public elementary day schools, there has been practically no additional endowment, whether in the form of Treasury grants or private benefaction. Hymer's College at Hull stands alone.

In following Mr. Leach's investigations into the provisions for education existing previously to the Reformation, we were made aware of two facts : first, that the grammar schools were Latin schools, and that Latin was at that epoch a technical subject, the universal language, through which all the Arts and Sciences were approached. Secondly, that the wide diffusion of these Latin schools produced a well-informed English middle class, a middle class who, in

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the reign of Edward III., could read Chaucer, and who, in the reign of Elizabeth, could understand Shakespeare, the richest of all dramatists. It is noteworthy that no other country, not even Italy or Spain, has any form of popular literature,—and the drama is essentially popular—comparable to Shakespeare at the same period. If it is fair to judge of the intelligence and culture of the average Athenian citizen by his power of appreciating Euripides and Aristophanes, then it is surely fair to estimate the intellectual development of the Elizabethan Englishman by the unexampled apparition of Shakespeare.

Nevertheless, we are confronted by the strange fact, that the era at which the fruits of a liberal provision for education are so profusely lavished, is precisely the era at which an indifference to education sets in. It is true that there were some schools founded or restored in the reign of Elizabeth and subsequently, but Mr. Leach has clearly shown that the work of restoration was incommensurate with the work of destruction. The English people allowed their schools to be confiscated, and pillaged for purposes of State, almost without protest.

It is worth while to enquire into the causes of all this, for our present position is in some respects comparable to that of the Elizabethans. An attentive consideration of the errors of our ancestors may possibly put us on our guard against a repetition of them.

In the first place, it may be observed that a sound

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educational system is least likely to be missed at the time of its activity ; its fruits long survive it in the lives of the persons who have enjoyed its advantages, and in those of their immediate posterity. Even when Shakespeare died, there must have been many men living who had been to school before the Chantries Act crippled national education ; nor would the effect of the loss of endowment be immediately felt by the schools. In most cases pensions were granted to teachers, even where the school itself was not continued, till further orders, and the pension did not at once cease to be an adequate provision.

In the second place, the traditions of good education would long be continued in the families which had attended the schools before they were robbed : such families would be prepared to make up for the loss of the endowments by increased payment to teachers in some form or another. There would not, however, be a tendency to any further diffusion of such education among the families who, under previous conditions, would have had their children well taught at little expense to themselves, as they became richer, instead of badly taught. Suppose Eton and Harrow and all the rest of them swept away at the present moment ; they would only be missed by the class of families who are now sending their sons to such schools. These would, doubtless, find some means of replacing them at any rate temporarily. But the large middle class of our towns would not feel that the nation had lost anything ; they would send their

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children to inferior schools with equal, if not with greater, confidence. Only after the lapse of two generations would historians note that something had at this period evidently vanished from the nation's life ; and it is quite possible that they would not fix upon the cessation of certain schools as the starting-point of a backward movement in the nation.

Indifference to any set of interests, educational or other, may also be due to an absorbing interest in others. Such periods as our own and the Elizabethan age are periods of rapid commercial development, and they are not favourable to the claims of the contemplative life ; they will make use of what has previously been done in the way of culture and refinement ; they will not develop fresh agencies in the same field. When many people are getting rich something goes on in the whole fabric of society akin to the rush to a new goldfield ; money fever, in all kinds of insidious forms, breaks out ; men with the mercantile aptitude come to the front and almost monopolise the direction of the general tone of society ; thus an impulse is given towards an exclusive attention to the external and material aspects of life. Men do not feel the absence of a general diffusion of learning at a time when everybody is getting rich, for, unfortunately, the majority of them are more apt at bestowing their energies upon the acquisition of riches than upon being refined or virtuous ; a man's income is easily measured, not so his intellectual beauty nor his moral strength.

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If we again call to mind the fact that the mediæval grammar schools were Latin schools, we see that the growth of vernacular languages would tend to weaken the hold of an education based upon Latin. To the end of the last century Latin held its own as the language of learned men, and of some of the sciences. As late as 1776 Dr. Johnson wrote of Buchanan, "His name has as fair a claim to immortality as can be conferred by modern Latinity, and perhaps a fairer than the instability of vernacular languages admits." But even then Latin had ceased to be habitually spoken by English scholars, and was, in fact, for all practical purposes dead. Meanwhile the vernacular languages of the leading continental nations had joined with our own in becoming literary.

Again, the Reformation from the point of view of education in our own country may be divided into two periods of development, the one merging insensibly into the other. The popular view that it began and ended with Henry VIII. is, of course, absurd ; it began visibly with Wycliff, and it ended with George I. We had not done with Rome till Queen Anne's successor was on the throne of England, who might easily have been the Old Pretender had certain influential persons of the time been able to get their own way.

The first period of the Reformation, whether in England or on the Continent, is marked by the prominence of learned men. Whether as a political or a religious movement, it was guided by cultivated

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men, and refined men, by men who had not broken with the past. Just as the French Revolution in its beginning was the work of the Encyclopedists and Voltaire, so the first reformers were men of the stamp of Rabelais and Erasmus, of Wolsey and Sir Thomas Moore ; both in our own country and on the Continent such men were succeeded by men who, however capable, were uncultivated. In our own country the high-water mark of the second stage of the Reformation is represented by Cromwell and his generals, men with whom a refined Puritan, such as Colonel Hutchinson, found it difficult to deal. Milton, it is true, was Cromwell's Latin secretary ; but his poet-laureate was Sergeant-Major Peter Fisher. During the Elizabethan age a generation grew up who mistrusted learning, for whom only one kind of reading had any value, viz., the Old and New Testaments with the commentaries thereon ; for them Latin and the classical writers were pagan ; Colet had already shown something of the same spirit in founding St. Paul's School. To quote Mr. Leach : "Colet, like Gregory the Great, seems to have had a holy horror of the classics as represented by Virgil, Ovid, and Terence ; and though he wanted the 'very Roman tongue' of their time, puts St. Jerome and St. Austin on the same level with them, and prescribes Sedulius, Juvenius, and such like, who wrote Easter hymns and gospels in verse, etc., and even (save the mark !) Baptista Mantuanus, a Carmelite friar, who died in 1516, and composed eclogues."

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To part company with Latin in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to confine oneself to the study of the Scriptures in the vernacular, was to part company with all the previous accumulations of science. It was more than this, it was an abandonment of scientific methods of considering the world around us. We may freely concede the fact that up to the reign of Elizabeth science had not started on the roads along which she has since victoriously travelled; and yet we need not abandon the position that there was already a spirit of enquiry, and that much information had been accumulated. The discussion on the nature of dreams, for instance, in Chaucer's tale of *The Cock and the Fox*, shows us that even in the reign of Richard II. there was a scientific as well as a superstitious theory of dreaming. People who see in teachers of Latin mere gerund grinders will naturally attribute little damage to science from the elimination of the Latin schools; but even if it is not true now, it was certainly true in the Middle Ages, that the teacher of Latin might also be, and often was, a teacher of science.

Were other evidence wanting, the general outbreak of the hideous faith in witchcraft in the seventeenth century would sufficiently indicate that our middle classes had lost more than they suspected when they lost their schools. The scientific temper of Chaucer was gone, superstition had taken its place. It is notorious that the most cruel witch-finders were also the most strenuous Puritans—those who went over

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to America and founded New England. There is always present in every stage of society a minority who believe, or are ready to believe, on very slender evidence, in the active influence of the world of spirits with our daily concerns ; but where there is a general confidence in the orderly progression of the universe, such persons do not often lose their balance nor infect others. Where, however, there is no general diffusion of the scientific temperament, superstitious beliefs get the upper hand. Luther and Calvin were succeeded by John of Leyden and other " prophets " ; nor must we forget that the generation which gave birth to Bunyan also gave birth to the Fifth Monarchy Men and the Anabaptists. When the middle classes of the sixteenth century threw over the learning of their forefathers, they invited the superstitions of their remote ancestors, and the invitation met with an abundant response.

What, then, are we in danger of throwing away now ? Surely not science ?

What precisely do we mean by the term science ? What do we wish to be at, when we set apart a million and odd every year for scientific and technical instruction ? Are we interested in promoting scientific habits of thought among the majority of our countrymen ? or are we not rather interested in diffusing the knowledge of some of the results which have been achieved by scientific men, because we believe that this knowledge is useful for commercial purposes ? Is there any clear and general under-

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standing of the fact, that technical instruction is one thing, and scientific education is another ?

Technical instruction may be profoundly unscientific ; and in fact for practical purposes unscientific methods of teaching technical operations may be the best. Is the thermometer an instrument commonly used in our kitchens ? How are we likely to get good soup from our cook, by telling her to take a thermometer and withdraw her pot from the fire whenever it registers more than 104° on being plunged into the stock, or by telling her that if she finds the soup too hot, when she puts her finger into it, she is overheating her pan ? It is quite true that the fingers and thumbs of cooks vary in thickness of skin, but a cook will successfully use the simple test who refuses to be "fashed" with the scientific instrument.

No amount of knowledge of metallurgy will teach a man to temper a chisel. He may know all about the arrangement of the molecules of steel in the process of heating and cooling, exactly the degree of temperature at which it is ready to be cooled suddenly, in order to secure the requisite hardness ; but the workman, who only knows that when the heated steel throws certain colours on its surface in a certain order, the right moment has arrived, is for practical purposes superior to the skilled metallurgist, who, indeed, when he constitutes himself a workman, has to adopt the workman's methods.

Again, there is nothing whatever scientific in learn-

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ing by heart the latest scientific dogma. Much of what is called scientific teaching in these days is simply the teaching of Mangnall's questions up to date.

There is no more science involved in learning by heart chemical formulæ, than in similarly learning algebraical formulæ, but the one process is endowed at the rate of a million and more per annum, and the other is left to chance.

We recently learned, through the medium of the daily papers, that Professor Dewar had succeeded in liquefying oxygen. What then? To men who know all, and perhaps more than all, that Professor Dewar knows about chemistry and physics, the fact is one of great importance; it proves that certain views previously held were correct; it may lead to farther correct information about a multiplicity of things; but to our aunt in the country, who presumably gapes amazed as she reads the announcement, the fact has no possible significance; yet if she were a schoolboy, she might some day earn part of a science and art grant by retailing it.

The strange pickle of subjects which may be taught in the higher classes of our elementary schools show decisively that the relative significance of branches of learning, and the relation of each and several to the proper work of education, are neither understood nor studied. We have physics lightheartedly coupled with animal physiology, botany, the principles of agriculture, domestic science, navigation, book-keep-

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ing, four languages, algebra, euclid, mensuration, and shorthand ! A study of the syllabus of any local college of science confirms our bewilderment ; for these places, anxious to enlist pupils and public sympathy, hold out as many flags as possible.

Has it not always been so ? Has there ever been a period when scientific procedure was valued more than the results of science ? Did not astronomy begin in astrology, and was not chemistry the accidental discovery of those who sought in vain for the philosopher's stone ? Have we not at the present day lost our perception of the value of intellectual processes in our amazement at the money-getting possibilities which scientific men have revealed ? Alas, my Lady Science, your reputation was not particularly good when you were supposed to be married to the magician, and you have not materially improved it by your more recent flirtation with the bagman !

At the same time that we were captured by the golden gifts of science, Professor Ruskin and others pressed upon us the claims of art ; and when it seemed that insufficient attention was given to them, our advisers reminded us of what we might earn by improving designs in our pottery and textile fabrics. We jumped to the bait, and devote some of our million to paying boys and girls to learn to draw.

And yet, what do we mean by art ? We include under this term, for the purposes of payment by results, geometrical drawing and machine drawing.

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It would be pleasant to hear Professor Ruskin discourse on the subject ; for if there is one aptitude which is profoundly devoid of art, it is the aptitude of the geometrical draughtsman.

All children should at some time or other of their school life be taught to draw without the aid of instruments, such as rulers, compasses, and the like ; both eye and hand are susceptible of acquiring dexterity, the former in correctly seeing, the latter in correctly recording the forms seen. Any person can test this assertion for himself by trying to draw straight lines, and then marking them off into halves and fourths, thirds and fifths ; he will be surprised no less by the rapidity of his improvement than by his initial incompetence. Again, a great deal of the art of drawing depends upon seeing with the eye and not with the intelligence. A child, who is told to draw a pig, draws all the four legs on one side ; he knows a pig has four legs, and conscientiously gives them all ; and even when he is confronted with the real pig, or a correct drawing of a pig, he prefers not to look at the model, but to evolve pigs from his own inner consciousness, all properly provided with four legs.

There is, however, no subject in which the work of the teacher is of less importance than in drawing ; any person who really wishes to learn to draw can do so with the minimum of instruction, provided he can find a table and light. There are very few people who take the trouble to learn to draw.

What we admire in works of art, and what we are

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trying to secure when we pay a large endowment to art, is the one quality which no teacher can impart—the selective faculty, which is the quality that divides the really great artist from the mechanical draughtsman.

Whether we are designers of wall papers or of patterns for textile fabrics, we may still be artistic ; but it is possible to design infinitely upon the suggestions given by some other artist, without seeing or feeling for oneself.

The ordinary history of a really great artist is that he learned in the studio of some other master. At first his works are almost indistinguishable from those of his master ; he sees with his master's eyes, governs his own selective faculty by that of his teacher. Every great painter was followed by a school, and the majority of the men who studied in those schools simply continued to repeat their master's work, never establishing any distinctive note of their own. Here and there the master was watched by a pupil who could see and select for himself ; he inevitably broke away from the rules that he had been taught, and himself became the founder of another school ; but if we were to spend ten millions a year instead of one upon persuading people to let their children learn to draw, we should be no nearer the creation of English Raphaels than we are at present, nor of finding an improvement upon Professor Herkomer.

Of the technicalities of art much may be learned, and a minimum must be learned from a capable

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practitioner ; but the knowledge of the behaviour of clay under the hand of the modeller, of wood under the chisel, of iron under the hammer, is not art,—it is a mechanical proficiency leading to art, and there is no more reason for endowing it from the public treasury than there is for endowing the village blacksmith, who, by the way, seems up to the present date to have been neglected by our technical instructors.

V

On the Effect of Subsidizing Education

WHETHER money paid to subsidize education is paid from rates and taxes, or from private endowments, the ultimate outcome is the same ; viz., that the individual parent does not in all cases pay the whole of the expenses of educating his children. It is good that from time to time the question should be raised, whether there is any reason to subsidize education at all. With what object does the nation collectively tax itself to maintain schools and other educational institutions ?

It may be laid down as a fundamental proposition that a wise nation will not subsidize institutions which might be self-supporting. In England, for example, we do not subsidize the theatres, because apart from the fact that a good many of us consider them very naughty, we have found that in all the large centres of population theatres can support themselves. Why do we subsidize the schools ?

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When we passed the Education Act of 1870, we believed ourselves to have discovered by experience that the national well-being was imperilled by the ignorance of the majority of the population, by its moral even more than its intellectual ignorance, and we, like other nations, were convinced that parents in the wage-earning classes were too indifferent to the welfare of their children to pay for schools. The measure was in some of its aspects a measure of police. Compulsory elementary education as a measure of police is not absolutely a success; some statisticians tell us that in our own as well as in other countries compulsory education has not resulted in a diminution of juvenile crime, but rather in an increase. This, however, is not the question with which we are immediately concerned. Having accepted this dogma, that all children should be educated, we put it into practice by relieving all parents of the responsibility of educating their children up to a certain standard, the board schools being open to all classes of the community.

Since then we have further subsidized education beyond the elementary standards. With what motives! Is the subsidy really necessary? Why are we spending one million and fifty-seven thousand pounds odd upon the teaching of science and art and technical instruction? Is it absolutely certain that nobody would continue to be taught these subjects were the subsidy withdrawn? To what extent would the community suffer?

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The subsidy paid to technical instruction and science and art, so called, is unquestionably paid in obedience to the wishes of those who look upon our nation as a vast workshop in competition with other workshops. It has been taken for granted, for instance, that we are sadly behind other nations in the arts of designing, in our knowledge of chemistry and physics as applied to manufactures and agriculture ; and to remedy this state of affairs we tax ourselves, so that every child may be instructed in the arts and sciences at a minimum of cost to the individual parent. How far is this wise? Is there not an equally effective way of attaining the same end? Is it absolutely necessary to pauperize instruction?

Suppose that the heads of our manufacturing industries had been convinced that their business could not face foreign competition unless the proficiency of the individual workman in science and art had been improved. It would surely have been worth their while to pay increased wages to men or lads who took the trouble to acquire the desired proficiency, in which case it would also have been worth somebody's while to teach these subjects. Or have we to plead guilty to a national absence of foresight and unwillingness to learn, so great that even the prospect of increased earnings would not induce parents to pay school fees for the instruction of their children in advanced subjects? If we take this view, why should we stop at science and art?

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What has happened with regard to other needs, or supposed needs, of the body politic?

Some years ago we made up our minds that we required better trained officers for our army and navy, and we refused to admit young men to these services without subjecting them to a severe competitive examination. Almost immediately there came into being a large class of teachers, invidiously designated "crammers," who prepared boys for these examinations, and parents are willing to pay the necessary expenses; yet the State is surely as much in need of good soldiers and sailors as of good designers. Why should the parent of the one be let off his fees, and the other not receive assistance also? It is true that in the one case the expenses of education, and the subsequent emoluments, are expressed in shillings, and in the other in pounds; but the relative self-sacrifice of the parent on behalf of the child and State is the same.

An argument advanced on behalf of free education in elementary schools is to the effect that if the State forces a parent to send his children to school, the State must pay the expenses. This might fairly be extended. The State only compels children to go to school because that is felt to be desirable for the general welfare; it is for the same reason that the State raises the standard of the proficiency of public servants. Then it is clearly the business of the State to provide institutions where the necessary proficiencies may be acquired free of cost.

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If we were fairly convinced that education at such a school as Eton is absolutely indispensable to maintain a strong breed of statesmen, we should merely be following lines already marked out in paying the tuition fees of Eton boys from the public treasury.

As a matter of fact, the interests of the parent and the interests of the nation are at variance all along the line. The nation requires highly qualified citizens ; the parent wishes for the minimum of expenditure from his own pocket upon the education of his children. The nation demands that her civil servants and her warriors shall be men of sound intellectual and physical training, of the strictest integrity, servants of honour ; the parent desires that admission to the public services should be so arranged that his sons should easily become the paid servants of the public without any sacrifices on his part.

Similarly, in all the industries and manufactures it is to the interest of the nation and of the employers that those employed should be well trained ; of the parents of young persons likely to need employment, that they should not be trained at all, because training is expensive.

If we further choose to regard our nation as a manufacturing firm in competition with other firms, we see that a high standard of intellectual and moral activity in each and every citizen is conducive to the supremacy of the nation ; but to each and every parent inside the nation it is convenient that, whether

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the general standard is to be high or low, it should be in the first place inexpensive.

It is partly to meet this conflict of interest between the parent and the State that the system of payment of grants on attendance and examination has been devised; partly also because there are soft-headed and soft-hearted people existing in large numbers who regard education as the one great democratic machine for enabling anybody to become anything. A wiser policy would have been to establish adequately-staffed schools in localities where they seemed likely to be useful, with a scale of fees based upon the proportion of the population likely to attend the classes, so that the school would, if fully attended, be self-supporting, and the deficit would be made up by the State where it was not fully attended. "But then the public might be cheated by the teachers." A nation which once deliberately allows this consideration to be dominant in its councils has said good-bye to all that is really valuable in teaching, and is ready to perpetrate any blunder. Only the most mechanical forms of instruction can survive under a system dictated by distrust of the teacher; men fit to do the most valuable work of a teacher, the work that we all really mean when we speak of education, will not submit to a system of payment by results.

To revert to the question of the subsidizing of education. Leniency to the individual parent is State socialism, nothing more or less. A, who may be a

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bachelor, is taxed so that B's twelve children may be educated. A can be persuaded that the arrangement is advisable when B's disorderly twelve menace his peace and seem likely to grow up redly revolutionary ; but the case looks different when B is well off, and could perfectly well afford to pay adequate school fees. We remind A that B's children are being taught to be skilled artisans, and thereby will promote the national welfare in which A has a share ; but then he may reply that if our manufacturers understood their responsibilities, B would have to bring his children up to the required standard without State aid ; why should he be taxed to benefit employers of labour, whose method of selecting their workmen is to take the first man that offers himself ?

The subsidizing, not of technical instruction, but of education in the best sense, may however be defended from a slightly different point of view. The nation is permanent, not so the individual. Experience has shown that the current generation of parents collectively cannot be depended upon to train their children in such a way as to carry on the national life. They have no interest in providing for the time when they will themselves have ceased to exist ; therefore the State, the permanent parent, steps in, and provides for the due discipline and training of its future citizens. Well and good, but this brings us back to the old point ; class for class, all have an equal claim to instruction at the expense of the State.

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A not uncommon motive for the private endowment of places of education has been the desire to promote a high standard of morality by means of influences in which the beneficent donor has a lively faith. Some persons give or bequeath money to establish schools in which religious instruction is the first consideration, and in which the form of religious instruction is in accordance with their own personal views ; others, again, seeing that certain professions—the clergy, for instance—have a special difficulty in finding education for their children on the same social level on which they have themselves been brought up, have provided schools on the professional plane, with reduced fees for the sons of clergymen and other professional men. Marlborough and Rossall were founded on these principles for the benefit of clergymen ; Wellington to aid soldiers in the same way. Here we have my Lady Bountiful at her best, but she becomes extravagant when she is preoccupied with the idea that it is necessary to the national salvation to provide all forms of instruction at less than cost price. Let private benefactors do as they please, and let us be duly grateful to them, but the State cannot safely tread in their steps ; so long as there are skilled workmen to be found, it is of no advantage to the State that they should be the children of persons who could not afford, or were unwilling to pay for, their instruction. Indeed, the public advantage would seem to lie rather in the other direction ; thrifty parents are likely to beget

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thrifty children, and it is more probable that a fine race of workmen will come into being if they are the children of parents who have stinted themselves in order that their families may be well educated than if instruction is made easy for the improvident. The same machinery which makes it easy for the workman's son to acquire instruction in science and art enables the well-to-do tradesman to throw the expense of educating his children upon other people, and he is not slow to realize and take advantage of the situation. Even the foundation of inexpensive boarding schools for the benefit of particular classes has not been an unmixed blessing. In many parts of the country there exist recent foundations called county schools; men convinced of the excellence of the public school system, and wishing to extend its influence to the farming and kindred classes, have created, by means of subscriptions and the utilisation of old foundations falling into decrepitude, boarding schools professing to give something akin to a public school education, in which the fees are sometimes as low as thirty guineas a year. What is the result? In places within easy reach of manufacturing towns, these schools are largely used by persons perfectly well able to pay fees which would represent the real cost of feeding and teaching their children. Worse than that, these schools are used by such persons simply as finishing schools; and it was recently discovered that, owing to this practice, the average life of a boy in a large county school was barely one year.

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This is not what we call public school education, nor was it contemplated by the founders of county schools. Again, these low fees mean under-payment of the teachers ; a question which must be reserved for discussion in a separate essay.

The dividing line between wise and unwise subsidization of education lies in this : all instruction which is obviously conducive to eventually earning money can be left to take care of itself ; there is no occasion whatever to subsidize technical instruction, except so far as capital expenditure is concerned, in any sense of the phrase, because as soon as any proficiency is seen to be likely to earn money, people will willingly pay to enable their children to acquire it. There is, however, a large part of instruction and education which, though necessarily preliminary to these branches of knowledge which obviously earn wages, is not seen to be so, and for which, therefore, parents are unwilling to pay. Take the case of algebra and chemistry, of mechanics and machine-drawing. A command of the uses of algebraical formulæ is necessary to the chemist ; it is an indispensable preliminary to sound chemistry ; but parents frequently object to paying for instruction in algebra, while they will gladly pay extra fees for chemistry. Similarly, machine-drawing is a handicraft readily learned by anybody who can afford to buy the necessary instruments and a text book ; mechanics involve a considerable power of mathematical reasoning : the two are necessary to make a really skilled engineer ; but

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while it is easy enough to fill a room with students and drawing-boards, it is not uncommon to hear grumbling about the uselessness of the mathematical studies, which, however, necessarily precede the study of mechanics.

The person who urges that, after all, expensive public schools, such as Clifton, which owe practically nothing to endowment, are not infrequent in the country, may reasonably be asked how far such schools are not technical schools, opening the way to the different professions; and whether, if the majority of parents could have their own way, the curriculum of such schools would not at once be brought down to the lowest possible standard of instruction beyond the three R's. As a matter of fact, any attempt to carry the methods of such schools into the life of a local school is at present generally crowned with failure. Parents will not pay for having their children well taught unless they get a considerable amount of social prestige along with their bargain. It is sound policy to subsidize Latin and mathematics, and even the enlightened teaching of modern languages not exclusively for commercial purposes; but shorthand, and book-keeping, and scientific handicrafts of various sorts can safely be left to take care of themselves.

VI

An Ideal Teacher and True Blue Etonian

A VISITOR to the Eton Playing Fields some thirty years ago would not improbably have met, some time "after twelve," a broad-shouldered, greyish-coloured man strolling along the path to Sheep's Bridge in the company of one or more small boys ; his head would have been bent, and turned slightly on one side ; his face would have occasionally been lit up by a smile in response to some comment upon his conversation made by his youthful companions.

The external appearance of such a man would not attract special notice in such a place ; he would be passed by as belonging to the fauna natural to an abode of learning and of no great importance anywhere else ; but if our stranger had been fortunate enough to be furnished with an introduction to him, he would have discovered that this presumably peace-

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ful recluse knew more about the army than most colonels, that his acquaintance with the history and organization of the navy was minute and particular, that he had an exact knowledge of the work of our great ministers and politicians, not only in the distant, but in the recent past, and that in spite of his distressingly short sight he had a particular and just enjoyment of all beautiful things, of seas and rivers, of flowers, and of the bright eyes and pretty manners of children.

Such a man was William Johnson, born in 1823, who was an assistant-master at Eton from 1845 to 1872, spending the twenty-seven strongest years of his life in devotion to the interests of his pupils and the school.

He had himself been an Eton boy for ten years, and then became a scholar of King's College, Cambridge, where he was Craven University Scholar, won the Chancellor's medal for English verse, and the Powis medal for Latin hexameters. King's men being in those days excused from the public examinations of the University, his name does not appear in the Tripos lists; but without that additional distinction he had done enough before he took his degree to show that he possessed ability of an exceptional standard. It seemed, therefore, to many of his friends that a career at the Bar lay open before him, likely to end in the highest honours that the legal profession can give; and, indeed, he was upon the point of entering at the Middle Temple

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when Dr. Hawtrey made him the offer of an Eton mastership. Partly his own inclinations, partly the advice of a clear-sighted friend, determined him to adopt that profession, which he honoured by his preference and illuminated by his example.

The choice of a profession was not made lightly, but it is not discreditable to him that the one consideration which most commonly determines the choice of a profession,—viz., the amount of the emoluments to be earned,—did not enter into his calculations; the question which he put to himself was whether he would be able to lead a more worthy life as a barrister or a schoolmaster. Speaking of the Bar, he says, “I cannot go to London saying that my business is to go about in clubs and law courts to show folks that it is possible for a man of letters and a reformer to be religious. If I go there, it will be to live a sober and manly life under severe mental discipline, denying myself the intellectual luxuries I could command at Cambridge for the purpose of gaining an honest livelihood; of course intending to avail myself of any opportunity that might present itself for helping the progress of Christianity.” And again, speaking of the Eton mastership, “I do distinctly feel that if I have a gift it is the power of gaining influence over the minds of people more ignorant than myself, partly owing to my being able to enter into other people’s interests. . . . I put the question on this ground: Is it not my vocation to teach boys? If so, must I not encounter all

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temptations incident to that life with faith and courage? I answer in the affirmative." The temptations which he anticipated at Eton were "love of money, gormandising, intrigue, imposture."

Having eventually made up his mind to go to Eton, he considered the question of taking Holy Orders, but eventually decided to remain a layman.

The start at Eton in September, 1845, was to be a severe test of his steadfastness; it did not seem at first that he was to have the opportunity of "gaining influence over the minds of persons more ignorant than himself." "Birch says he gets somewhat used to the listening to 270 boys on a Friday (ninety, three times in the day each) saying their lessons; of course there is a certain natural provision for callousness. The people in the Andes get larger breasts to make them breathe in the thin mountain air. I also shall get by the law of adaptation some hitherto undreamt-of power of abstracting my mind—letting it think at will while my ears endure the same page of Greek grammar thirty times repeated. I am going into an abyss of drudgery—I must float upon the hope of some success in perhaps one pupil out of fifty—the hope that before my time is out I may rejoice in having turned out of my pupil-room perhaps one brave soldier, or one wise historian, or one generous legislator, or one patient missionary. . . ."

He lived to see these ambitions realized. A very large proportion of the work done in school at Eton

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in those days consisted of repetition lessons, but even in these—the most mechanical part of a teacher's work—he found possibilities of struggling towards a standard. "Saying by heart is a tiresome and unsatisfactory kind of teaching work; but, drudgery as it is, I find in a few minutes that it requires a constant moral effort, the effort to be just, to deal even-handedly."

In many respects the organization of Eton fifty years ago was not superior to that of a modern elementary school. "I am very well, but my voice is weak for this bellowing; it weighs heavily in the scale of my uncertainties. The noise of 200 boys and four masters in the Upper School is so great that it is impossible for those at one end to hear what goes on at the other, and therefore the instruction conveyed cannot be but fragmentary, and the great bulk of the division is learning nothing. I think myself lucky if I can interest half a dozen near neighbours and engage their attention. If I could but have proper opportunities, I am sure I have a dozen who would learn a good deal." And within two months of his first introduction to his new work we find him, even under these adverse circumstances, already sounding that note of personal sympathy with his pupils which made him so valuable and inspiring an influence in his later years at Eton. "I have been an usher seven weeks: my juvenility is a fault mending every day, according to William Pitt's notion; nor do I find my mind stagnating, as it is

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generally thought ushers' minds do. As long as I find fresh interests germinating, I have a right to conclude that I have not altogether mistaken my vocation.

"Sometimes I get encouragement in school, observing eagerness and inquisitiveness in some of the younger people's faces—only perhaps what I see is but an eagerness for display and competition. Anyhow, it is their light-heartedness which makes the intercourse with them agreeable. On cold mornings, when they are dispirited, discontented, and dull, I pity them, and also I pity myself." And again the same note occurs in a letter written during his third term of school work, which incidentally throws a light on the cruel want of organization, and the need of additional masters, whom it was feared Dr. Hawtrey would not appoint—Dr. Hawtrey, the reforming headmaster. "I had a fight yesterday with some ninety Fourth Form in one of the extra school times, when all the new ones are worked in Greek grammar. I conquered them at the cost of two lives, and a few seriously wounded. Since, *I have got leave* to split the ninety into two halves, which will give me double work in point of time; but forty or so are not too many for my voice and eyes.

"Misanthropical feelings are engendered by their want of order; but I see one or two virtuous and rational ones who are my friends and fellow-soldiers, and their existence makes me very easily reconciled

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with human nature at large, inasmuch as I persevere in an old habit of idealizing, and live in the faith that my best Fourth Form are most noble, most generous, most kind—as virtuous as men, without men's pride and knowingness ; as interesting as women, without women's timorousness and artifice.”

The discipline of the large, unwieldy divisions of Eton remained a difficulty, with Johnson for many years, considerably aggravated by his short-sight ; but throughout all he never allowed himself to be out of charity with the boys under his charge. In his journal he continually regrets having to punish them, finds excuses for their ill-behaviour, and eventually, when he was sailing in calmer water, having a school-room to himself, and older boys to deal with, he regretted the idealized Fourth Form.

An Eton master's life was not, however, spent in a continual struggle with crowds of undisciplined boys—there was the relief of the pupil-room. Every master had a larger or smaller number of private pupils, drawn from all parts of the school, with whom he could be on intimate terms, and for whom he could, if he pleased, wholesomely supplement the deficiencies of the public teaching. Here Johnson found his opportunity, and the tutorial system in his hands bore such fruit as to make it easily comprehensible that Eton masters shrink from interfering with an institution capable of such good work. It was work in the pupil-room which carried Johnson through a period of discouragement which

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set in severely in the third year of his Eton life. "The task of keeping my mob in a state of quiet attentiveness when their blood is warm is a task beyond my powers ; it is comparatively easy in the cool morning. I get sometimes absolutely sick of setting punishments—quarrelling so much with my subjects ; but in the pupil-room there is teaching, which by itself I like. . . .

"I look at the plasterers and carpenters now working here, and envy them their weekly wages ; for all my shoutings and questionings, and mortifications, and all the ill-will I have to contract by punishing, I have not received a farthing."

It is characteristic of the man that he should consider the compulsory attraction of ill-will one of the things for which a teacher should receive compensation. Ill-will, whether he was to be its object, or was himself to conceive an unkind state of feeling towards others, appeared to him among the first of evils in life. He made it a rule, seldom broken, not to record in his private journal or correspondence causes of dissatisfaction, severe remarks on others, but rather habitually to note only those things that were good in his life—things that had given him pleasure ; even when he records some vexation, it is usually corrected by something on the other side. "My Fifth Form boys (private pupils) are generally so idle, frivolous, and undisciplined, and do so much harm to the young ones, that I get ill some days of sickness of heart ; but then the place and the work provide

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remedies—sometimes an eager, open-eyed listener sitting as long as I like to hear me read him poetry, or translate Greek or Latin verse to him ; sometimes a piece of unexpected industry or good taste ; sometimes a piece of good conduct, or rather of high virtue—forgiveness, humility, or the like ; sometimes an unanimous burst of inquisitiveness in a small and youthful class, or an impromptu vote of thanks for some interesting story or out-of-the-way information. Last night I had a happy party of small boys receiving shocks and sparks from an electric machine ; and though it all ended in breakages and a headache (not my head, but Scott's, who operated), yet it was a successful affair. Indeed, one can make Eton a palace of art, science, and nature—anything but a Christian Church. Yet there are a few children of the 'free woman' even here, dwelling in the tents of Kedar, and I feel that they are too strong for the mocking Ishmaelites."

It is not uncommonly held to-day that there is something essentially narrowing in the exclusive study of the dead languages. Johnson is not an exception to a rule ; he is in himself sufficient evidence that the contrary view is tenable. Neither the dead languages, nor the pursuit of mathematics, nor the study of those sciences which have to do with the operations of natural forces, will cure a man of narrowness nor inflict it upon him ; the narrow temperament is there to begin with, and the narrow man will work in a narrow way, no matter what the subject upon which

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he expends his energy. Johnson was a classic of the classics; he was not merely well read, he was a literary artist of the highest order. Gifted with a fastidious taste, a sensitive ear, early success in one particular branch of learning might well have tempted him to neglect self-improvement outside the paths along which he had successfully progressed so far; but the reverse was the case. His intellectual sympathies were of the largest; we find him repeatedly regretting the evil fate which had excluded mathematics from his education, and he worked to repair the deficiency. Already, in 1849, he was lecturing at Windsor on Hugh Miller's geological books; at a later time he records an attempt to instruct his youngest pupils in elementary science. There was nothing in him of that silly spirit which used to class even moral philosophy as "moral stinks." In later years he tried to do something in his own pupil-room towards improving or supplementing the scanty teaching which the Eton organization allowed to French, and his political economy lectures to a voluntary class revealed a man who was not only well versed in the literature of his subject, but had studied some economic subjects at first hand, and was able to follow the details of industrial processes.

Something may be judged of the opportunities given to an earnest teacher by the Eton tutorial system by a few extracts from our friend's diary. We will take a Sunday and a Monday. On Sundays at Eton there was no work in school; the boys went

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to their tutors' pupil-room in batches for an hour, and there transacted "private business." Johnson at this time had apparently twenty-seven pupils, whom he divided into three sets.

"Sunday, Feb. 7. . . . I spent three hours alone, chiefly reading Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, that I might have something to say at 8 (p.m.); also Carter's sermons. I wrote three letters full of bitterness about the frustrated reform of my College (King's College, Cambridge).

"2 p.m. My young boys gathered round the fire. I read them bits of Cowper, a good passage about the wickedness of ambitious kings, *Alex. Selkirk* and the *Castaway*. Told them about Cowper and Huskisson: they filled in the dropt rhymes and were intelligent. They read to me some chapters of Nehemiah—the bit about Ezra telling the people not to weep, and then St. Paul's parting with the elders of Ephesus. . . .

"I was sorry when they went, being chilly and dull; fell asleep. . . .

"7.0. I formed my party of seven round the fire . . . a gentle set, not very clever, but sufficiently cultivated, with frivolity for the hour banished. I told them a good many things about the Church history of Elizabeth's days, and got them to read out long bits of Collier. . . . They must have learnt something about the principles of the English Church, partly because I have gone over some of the points several times; at least they know more than their

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fathers knew at the same age. They behaved so well that I was truly sorry to part with them.

"8.o. The room was filled with the next set, eleven. . . . I lectured them on Church history, on the Roman theory of development, the Anglo-Catholic theory of tradition, the rational theory of tradition compared with the undoubted writings of the Apostles. We made references to the First Book of Corinthians, which we are supposed to be reading. I told them about Cassian, Jerome, Martin of Tours, Benedict of Nursia, Gregory the Great, and reminded them of Clemens Romanus, Diocletian, Constantine, Theodosius, Boëthius, etc. Some of them showed some knowledge—at least more than I had at their age. . . .

"This day at least I have done something—rash, perhaps, but not commonplace—that was not connected with my duties as an usher; and, by way of change, I enjoy it, though it may cost me dear. A little strife with *men* sometimes would be an agreeable change. (The reference is to his letters on the subject of the reforms at King's.)

"I have been to-day with twenty-seven boys, all of whom have been cheerful, orderly, attentive, and seemingly free from any grudge against me. Not a bad Quinquagesima, though I have begun perhaps a quarrel with certain King's men."

Men of business who talk of the ease of a school-master's life will do well to note that, on the day of

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rest, this man spent three hours in preparation of work, and three hours in actual teaching.

The notes on the following Monday run as follows :—

“*February* 8. School very difficult because of the coughing, which comes of their rushing in hurriedly opening their mouths. I have no voice to make head against it, and had to bring down the quiet A and B from the top form to get them within talking range, and bring something out of them, whereby I got the comfort of A's pious face (he seems to live in a church that goes everywhere with him). I discoursed as well as I could on Spenser, from whom I set verses, a bit on mutability, corrected some of their frantic anachronisms, and explained that the *Faerie Queene* and the *Divine Comedy* were not epics—this was let in to the parsing like a line of gold thread.

“5.15. The hardest lesson in the week—Cicero on the proofs of creative Providence. I had glanced at Whewell's Bridgewater treatise on astronomy, and had found the place in Bentley's lecture, *Confutations of Atheism*, where he follows Cicero's argument against Lucretius. So I had something to say ; told them about Ptolemy, Copernicus, Newton, Laplace, etc. ; found that several of them gave all the credit to Galileo ; told them about Bentley and Boyle, who endowed the Lectures. D came to borrow the volume of Bentley which had been passed about and looked at. . . .

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"My pigeons go forth and bring back little sprays from the olive tree of truth, which it is so hard for an elderly man encumbered with vanity, mannerism, and authority to approach. 'Fiam lenior accedente senecta.' Ten hours' work to-day, some of it fatiguing, but only because of the east wind. Ten hours spent in a Goshen of complaisance, simplicity, gaiety, and as much mental activity as I now-a-days expect . . ."

Here we may note with advantage the opportunities which literary lessons in the hands of a competent man give for stimulating curiosity and imparting information. A specialist in astronomy would probably not know anything about Cicero's argument against Lucretius, and even if he did, would think it out of place to refer to it in a technical astronomical lecture; in the hands of the literary man a construing lesson in Cicero leads to an account of the history of astronomy, invites inquiry, stimulates curiosity as to the science.

Astronomy was one of Johnson's many hobbies. In later years he presented the school with a fine equatorial telescope, which is mounted with its appliances on one of the towers of the new schools.

On the other hand, it may be urged that surely these lessons were too discursive, that boys could not possibly assimilate them. If a lesson is, and there are many people who think that it is, simply a process of pouring systematized information into more or less capacious vessels, from which it can again be

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recovered for purposes of examination, then we must admit that Johnson's lessons were not unfrequently beside the mark ; that a man, who instead of discoursing of Bentley and astronomy, had ground the whole class in the passage of Cicero prepared for the lesson, till he was quite sure that every one of them could translate it correctly, would have produced better results when an examination was conducted on the work done. There would have been, however, one important difference in the results of the teaching. Johnson's method made teaching a dignified thing, the width of his knowledge shamed ignorance, his method of imparting information showed how much there is to be known. Again, his lessons were carefully prepared beforehand, his discursiveness was premeditated ; it was not the tiresome habit by which some scholars are over-mastered, of running on from one illustration to another simply because they happen to occur to the memory.

Again, how much of the information laboriously crammed in order to pass a good examination is really assimilated ? Very little indeed. Most of it is forgotten as soon as the examination is over ; while those boys or young men who do assimilate something of what they learn by cramming methods, are precisely those who would have assimilated much more, and been immensely stimulated into the bargain, had their teacher poured upon them the floods of information with which Johnson deluged his division and pupil-room in the course of a school term.

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Nor, again, is the value of a lesson satisfactorily measured by the extent to which it can be reproduced by the class ; many a lesson has been forgotten at the end of a week, which has none the less helped to form the intellectual morality of the pupil. The boy who has begun to wonder at his teacher's proficiency, is some way on in the road of doing something for himself ; and this, after all, is the best result of teaching.

Part of the diary of the succeeding day widens our view of this great teacher.

"12.40. F. Wood (a pupil) and I went out, ride and tie, up the bank of the still, cold river ; taking it by turns to give Myrtle a canter, in which the dogs shared. . . .

"At Surley corner was a regular picture—a barge laden with wood, with the slenderest, straightest thread of smoke at each end ; one horse pulling it down stream, the poplars behind, Myrtle and her glowing young rider in the foreground. . . .

"Galopped back in time to release the captive (some boy detained out of school hours), who had done nine verses on Cassandra ; alone for forty minutes, finished Latin prose work ; then came S. Lyttleton with a bit of Greek prose done from Hooker, rather a good job. Then Hale for a gossip. Then I wrote a vicious letter to the Windsor paper about the unbearable filthiness of the College streets.

"3.45. Small boys came for verses, etc., and I read sundry bits of Greek and Latin, and choice bits

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of Motley's *Dutch Republic*, though wishing to sleep.

“7.0. S. Lyttleton and others took notes of my catechetical lecture on the history of the fight against Philip II.; sometimes they read aloud the passages ready for them in Motley. So they were introduced to the scholar-warriors, Ste Aldegonde and François de la Noue (Bras de Fer), and to the heroic Louis of Nassau, and his mother Juliana; to my favourite doctrine about chivalry—that it is a sentiment engendered by literature, and never fairly developed till the sixteenth century, when men read the Bible and Plutarch. . . .

“8.0. Then we got into a sublime passage, where Socrates says that Apollo has made him a philosopher, examining himself and others—and he was as much bound to do this at all hazards as he was bound to stand in battle where the generals bade him stand—and quotes the story of Achilles telling his mother that he will avenge his friend, even though she foretells that he must die; for how could he stay to be taunted amongst the ships and cumber the earth! And hoarse as I was, I made them see that this was a wonderful thing for Socrates to say; that even then literature was the well-spring of noble thoughts; that the record of his words stirred Cicero, and he, through Valerius Maximus, kept up some idea of virtue in the Middle Ages; and that when they came to read Cicero himself in the fifteenth century they began to be more noble, and became still more noble in the

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days of 'Bras de Fer,' when they read not only Cicero, but Euripides, Plutarch, and the Psalms. . . .

"Eight hours' employment; and I do not feel older after it."

It was at about this period that the busybodies discovered that history was not being taught in the Public Schools; a very serious misconception, which has resulted in substituting, in the majority of our schools, the merest dry bones of history for the living body of historical training such as it was in the hands of Johnson and other Eton masters. This discourse on Motley and the soldier-scholars would be of no value for the purpose of passing into Sandhurst, but as a moral stimulus, as an appeal to the imaginative faculty which breeds heroes, its influence was incalculable. There are not a few old Etonians ready to protest that they learned no history at school, whose lives are ennobled and sweetened, whose standard of public duty is high, precisely because of that historical training whose lessons they believe themselves not to have learned.

Two letters to different pupils, the one of them on the point of exchanging Eton for the army, the other destined for the University, can hardly be surpassed for sound sense and moral elevation. The first runs as follows:

"Read the life of Sir William Napier. . . . I now read the new life of Wolfe. They are both books which an officer should read, carefully making notes.

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"If you don't fill your head in your youth, you will be found 'Mene, Tekel, Upharsin' when the time comes to take command and have influence.

"That is just what the conqueror of Scinde says most emphatically. It is all very well to trust to animal spirits and tact in early life; but when the bloom is gone, an empty-headed man has but little influence. I find William Napier saying—quoting the Duke, too—that half our operations are ruined by stupid generals of division. Men of uncultivated minds are generally stupid at forty, except in their own groove."

One is tempted to ask, what opportunities the modern system of cramming army candidates, whether at the public schools or elsewhere, gives for this kind of comment upon the *Life of Sir William Napier*.

The second letter is much longer, but too valuable from beginning to end to stand any mangling or curtailment.

"The life of the last summer half at Eton is probably as happy as any kind of life. It is pleasure set in a framework of duties: the daily obligations are, as it were, the hem that keeps the garment from unravelling. What else is there that makes pleasure respectable? Would you not be ashamed if there were no yoke to bear? With you it seems to be the staple of life, not a diversion or a refreshment after toil. Would life be honourable, would mankind be respected by angels, if we all lived always in pleasure?

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This is the question Cicero asks. But when the ancients speak contemptuously of pleasure they mean something very different from what you enjoy. Your pleasure consists in good fellowship above all things : there is nothing solitary about it—nothing like sitting ‘each under his own vine, his own fig-tree, drinking his own cup.’

“The essence of the life which you enjoy here, and remember proudly, is brotherly and neighbourly sympathy. In the most easily-remembered periods of this kind of life, you are making common sacrifices, joint efforts ; you have hopes and fears towards which many minds converge. What is dull and wearisome here is taken patiently because you bear it together. It is when some are exempt, when there is a doubt about exemption, when it is not certain whether you are expected to do a thing or not, that discontent arises. At the Universities duty becomes more irksome, because there is so little there of universal obligation, and perfect, certain obligation. But there you substitute for the routine school duties private studies, which bear distinctly on your own success. At college a man is divided in life : partly he is working for and with others, partly he is struggling against others for a place. It is a less beautiful or poetical form of life than the Eton form.

“But the desire of knowledge is stronger ; the power of gaining knowledge is greatly increased, the perception of the value of intellect is greatly quickened. From college you will look back with some

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regret for lost opportunities of gaining knowledge ; but it is not certain that you will be justly reproaching yourself for negligence. Perhaps there is much offered here which can be taken only in fragments and by reflection.

“As soon as you are out of the ‘chamber of maiden thought,’ at once you begin to regret, to repine. The poets say that in youth we love autumn. High pleasure comes to us tempered and blended with regret, with a sense of insufficiency, with regard, as we say, that is looking back.

“This is the keynote of poetry. This is the mystery of music ; the sense that we love, have lost, something—that there is something we cannot reach—that there is infinity which we cannot reach.

“Perhaps the most exalted state of man’s mind is that in which he strains after a comprehension of all that is most excellent in mankind ; when he is seized with a sweeping theory of history, animated with a longing hope of universal human progress, dreaming, like the man in *Locksley Hall*, of a golden year that is to be, when the wars shall cease and the nations shall be made one, or praying early and late for an universal Church without rent or scar. In such aspirations there must always be, with pure and noble minds, a sweetness and a bitterness too. In the best hours of generous youth one must mourn over one’s weakness and limited range, one must deplore the hindrances presented by society, which make it impossible to know all men, to act with all classes. One

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must hate the diversities which keep nations apart ; one must love zealously those few men of one's acquaintance who are above prejudice, who are truly liberal, who seem to be incapable of giving way to the world. In the very age of great catholic ideas one is really drawn most closely to the few. Pleasure is there found in the hearty alliance and outspoken communications of a select body of men of one's own age.

"Then comes the desire to influence others ; and every moment comes disappointment. You find that you cannot have things your own way. Even a child or a servant beats you ; a family attorney is impregnable ; a churchwarden shakes off your zeal, as a seal throws off water ; a brother magistrate or a Government officer makes you feel very *young*.

"Then comes the doubt whether one is meant to do anything but take care of one's own skin, or save one's own soul, or continue, in a well-marked rut, the course of one's own family.

"Then you are tempted to acquiesce in the world's ways, to admit that there is nothing to be done but smile and avoid committing yourself, and make the best of every chance of getting something for yourself and your own kinsfolk.

"When this time comes, it would be well if one could vividly bring before one the very happiest and noblest part of one's early youth. The remembrance of what you felt, and intended, when you were confirmed, or when you were leaving school, or when you

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lost some dear friend or relation, would have a great effect in saving you from going back to Egypt. If you had a journal, or a bundle of letters, or a book of poetry with marks in it, or a biography of some good man, that you had read and been moved by, it would be a counter-charm, it would be like the plant that Mercury gave to Ulysses."

The boy to whom this letter was written carefully treasured it for many years. Let us hope that to him it may have often proved a counter-charm, as it has proved to others!

The sphere of Johnson's activity was not confined to Eton; he wrote from time to time in the weightier periodicals, he took an active interest in the business of his college, and in the local affairs of North Devon, his native county, whither he retired in 1872. He was among the earnest men who in all good faith furthered the excesses of the humanitarian movement, and paved the way for the greedy democracy of to-day. He would go to a trades union tea with the Spitalfields weavers, and admire the moderation of their leaders. He proclaimed himself a Republican, but his republicanism was tempered by an admiration for individual monarchs. Francis Joseph of Austria was a favourite of his, and a schoolboy who once ventured to say something disrespectful of the Queen met with the fate of Ishmael. "Her Majesty is the only topic on which I can tolerate no difference of opinion."

A severe critic of the idleness and frivolity which

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he discovered among the upper boys at Eton, to whom, indeed, he never took to so kindly as to their younger brethren, Johnson was full of a generous sympathy with athletic activity, especially with the better forms of combativeness which it develops. He curses his short sight, which had made him a duffer, delights in discovering that by means of a small telescope he was able clearly to discern the movements of the batsmen in Upper Club, sympathises with Lord Lyttelton's pleasure in watching his son make a big score, and long remembered the anniversary of a famous victory of Eton over Westminster on the river. Even after he had retired from Eton he found time to glory in the fact that both the public schools honours at Wimbledon had fallen to the old school.

Much of his time in the holidays was spent in travelling, not infrequently in the company of one or two pupils. The celerity of his movements is astounding ; in the same holidays he would be in Devonshire, Cumberland, Dumfriesshire, at Cambridge, and the north of France. In all these journeys, the world for him was ennobled by associations, over and above the pleasure which he derived from sea and sky, from the hyssop that grows on the wall, no less than from stately oaks ; patting the smooth white stems of holly trees in pure gratitude for the pleasure that their beauty gave him. He was no guide-book traveller, consulting his Baedeker to discover what there was to be seen, or what there was to be said of it ; he found the places he visited already peopled

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with the memories of heroic deeds and of noble men and women.

At Rome he was impatient of the babble of art, at Aix he liked to think that the antique jewels preserved in the treasure house of the Cathedral are probably the only things that still look as they looked when Cicero saw them. In our own country, one of his first expeditions was a pilgrimage to Walter Scott land, for whom and for Tennyson his admiration was as near idolatry as was possible in so clear a thinker; nor did he forget Haworth, *Shirley* being, in his opinion, the best of novels. There were those who considered him a book-worm, but his favourite stanza was :

“Blow, blow the clarion, fill the fife,
To all the sensual world proclaim
One glorious hour of crowded life
Is worth an age without a name.”

And yet he shrank from undertaking opportunities of work that were open to him, and which might have resulted in filling the country with his name.

We have a pleasant picture in his journal of a visit to Plymouth :

“We saw docks and ships under the wing of Captain Napier, of the *Lion*, a very kind, even-mannered man. He showed us first *Achilles*, then *Lord Clyde*, and *Prince Albert*—turret ship; here he made us laugh at his expense by suddenly appearing with his honest face inside one of the helmets or cowls

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which protect the turret marksman from everything but direct 'facers.'

"He and I stood together in the absurd little box which is to be held in action by the Captain and the Master, or, as it will be hereafter, the 'Navigating Lieutenant,' and I thought humorously of Nelson's being in such a cupboard, and sadly of 'the gallant good Riou,' who had no such protection when he made *Amazon*, weak frigate, stand before a Danish battery to do the work of a *Russell* gone aground; and when a round shot plumped into a squad of marines hauling at a brace, said, 'Never mind, boys, let us die together,' and died straightway, fighting against an enemy whom he never could have hated. Napier, of the *Lion*, would do no less—all for dear honour, not for our trickling tears and echoing ballads. I said to Napier, 'Will you be so good as to show us *Canopus*?' and some time after I anxiously reminded him, and, indeed, I feared he would forget the old ship in the crowd of scientific novelties. But when we sat at luncheon (Her Majesty's beef was hot and her pork was cold. I ate the pork, to be like a sea-man, and I munched biscuit patriotically, thinking it was ship's biscuit, but it wasn't) there was *Canopus* lifting a fair bosom over a lap of shadow, for the sun was out just then for a cheerful hour.

"That day we rowed past this beautiful model ship, Nelson's trophy; next day we sailed by her twice, and I made my companions, who had never heard of her under that name or the old name *Franklin*,

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care for her more than for unbattered *Renowns* and *Revenues* . . .”

And he does not forget to enter in his journal thanks not only to the officers who had shown him over the ships, but also to “the anonymous worthy sailors and sappers who boated us.”

Continually, as on this occasion, we find breaking out in Johnson the teacher’s habit of imparting information ; but with him it was always seasonable, and he was quite alive to the possibility of being a bore. When travelling he was much in the habit of employing children as guides, questioning them, and in his turn telling them stories. On one occasion a young Cumbrian, aged fifteen, who was showing him the way to Brougham Castle, entertained him with a tale of a boy who had been drowned : Johnson, in return, narrated the local story of the Shepherd Lord Clifford, but found his little friend did not listen. “So I gave him my usual exhortations to read books, and copy extracts into a blank book, and rewarded his half-mile of walk with a fourpenny bit, which faith persuades me was at once spent on a copy book.”

In not a few respects Johnson reminded us of his great namesake, “Blinking Sam” ; both, in spite of defective vision, were passionately fond of seeing. It is pathetic to find William Johnson, late in life, recording the first occasion on which he had actually seen a bird ; they were previously known to him only by their songs. Both these men enjoyed a remarkable power of influencing young men, exciting them

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to good work, tempting them to rejoice in wholesome pleasures.

As a whole, William Johnson's intellectual gifts would naturally be wasted on the great mass of Eton boys. It would only be here and there that a pupil could enter into an appreciation of his attainments, as well as of his sympathy ; but among his colleagues there were many who were encouraged to high efforts not by his invective, but by his example. It is not uncommon to hear men talk as if a great literary force like Johnson were necessarily wasted upon school work, and as if the Universities or Parliament would give him better opportunities. Apart from underrating the indirect work of a school, such men overlook the fact that the staff of a big school is at least as important to the life of the school as the boys themselves, and is equally in need of stimulation. Men of the Johnson stamp influence the boys through their colleagues, whom they continually supply with fresh social and intellectual ambition, to whom they are a standard. A head master has few opportunities in a large school of really influencing his staff ; he is not on fair terms of give and take with them ; he is most often largely encumbered with mere police work ; he is too close to parents and governors, very apt to give undue attention to their meaner suggestions, and to allow a high conception of education to be depressed by what is considered practical information from his employers. An experienced assistant is in a much better position to

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keep the mass of his colleagues duly leavened. For these reasons one would like to feel that schools like Eton were provided with some kind of organization which, while not relieving men like Johnson entirely of teaching, and thereby putting them out of touch with their colleagues, would establish them in a kind of professorial position, and retain their services to the school at a time of life when the ordinary routine of the pupil-room and the form-room has become too rigorous. There are happily few large schools which cannot boast of teachers, if not so largely gifted as Johnson, at any rate moulded on the same model, and there are some small ones.

In 1872 William Johnson retired from Eton to live for a few years at Halsdon, near Torrington, in North Devon, a small property belonging to a member of his family. Here he became horticultural and agricultural, but not forgetful of other things. On all men and animals about the place he lavishes the same sympathy that he had been in the habit of giving to his pupils, and to the children who guided him in his walks. His colt is a "good soul"; Crusoe, his foal, is "friendly." He regrets the fact that there is no possibility of making friends with sheep, as there is no method of distinguishing one sheep from another. His animals were whimsically named; the cows Deborah and Huldah; certain pigs Manning and Capel; a sow Pope Joan, and certain other pigs would have been named after Russian statesmen, only Johnson had got to like pigs.

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In the country he interested himself deeply in local affairs ; not in the showy affairs called politics, but the smaller life of local boards and vestries, teaching and helping his poorer neighbours without pauperising them ; striving in all things to make people get on with one another, to heal the rift between Church and Dissent. He held that real progress in civilization meant the increased respect of man for man, the acquisition of the habit of differing without quarrelling.

He maintained his old interest in scholarship and literature by corresponding largely with former pupils and colleagues. He also taught some young ladies Greek ; one of them he married in 1878, and after residing for a time in Madeira, moved to Hampstead, where he died in 1892. Soon after leaving Eton he took the name of Cory, in place of Johnson, and under that name published a *Guide to Modern English History*, a singularly original, clear, concise book. It is pleasant to think that he lived long enough to see his only son an officer in Her Majesty's navy.

VII

On the Qualifications and Remuneration of Teachers

THE Bishop of Hereford and others not unfrequently make public lamentation that the young men who teach in our public schools come to their work inadequately trained ; less frequently a parent lifts up his voice in protest against a state of affairs which permits the most difficult and the most responsible work of a school—viz., the teaching of the youngest boys—to be placed in the hands of the teachers of least experience, of the young men newly appointed to the staff, who, coming fresh from the Universities, are unversed in the art of teaching. With perhaps no less reason, teachers themselves complain that a very large number of persons in this country are able to induce parents to pay them to teach their children who are unprovided with reasonable certificates of acquaintance with the art of teaching, who cannot even demonstrate that they are in possession of the knowledge which they pro-

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fess to impart. On the whole there may be said to be an increasing movement in the direction of establishing all teaching on the basis of a profession, and of requiring of all teachers preliminary training in their art. Our boys must be protected from unqualified teachers, as our sick are given fairly satisfactory safeguards against the incompetence of amateur physicians and surgeons.

It is noteworthy and creditable that the demand for an organized profession of teaching originated with the teachers themselves; they did not wait for pressure from outside. It is further noteworthy, and no less creditable, that in demanding organization they have not also demanded remuneration.

There is not, however, any general agreement as to what the training of a teacher should be; and in the demand for improved training the necessity of an inquiry into existing methods of training young men to be teachers is overlooked.

Is it, for instance, a fact that a young man who takes up teaching work in a public school after having been educated in that school, and having finished his education at Oxford or Cambridge, begins his teaching work without preliminary training? Most certainly not. He has already been trained to a knowledge of the habits of boys under the conditions of school life, which he could not acquire either by reading books or listening to lectures. He has further commonly had some experience of responsibility and administration as a

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sixth form boy or captain of games, which has furnished him with what appears to be an instinctive faculty for avoiding a wrong course of action. That there are persons who contrive to go through their school life without acquiring any wide knowledge of their schoolfellows, and who afterwards take up teaching and come to grief, is undeniable ; but such persons are naturally devoid of the peculiar form of sympathy which makes a teacher ; they would be just as incapable, if not more so, after ten years spent in a training college.

Light is thrown on the question by the almost universal failure of foreign teachers to maintain discipline in English schools. They have not the previous knowledge of English boys which enables them to distinguish between insubordination or impertinence and mere animal spirits ; they make serious mistakes through not understanding the material that they have to deal with, and the inherited traditions of English school life. In precisely the same way, in spite of the martial discipline of French and German schools, the English master is apt to fail as a disciplinarian, in the same degree that a Frenchman or a German fails in England.

Our elementary schoolmasters have all but perfected the mechanism of instruction. Many of them are men of very high capacity and great moral courage ; the best of them would, however, probably fail to maintain order in a Clifton form-room, let alone Eton or Harrow. Their influence would suffer

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rom a consciousness that they were unacquainted with the habits and nature of the boys with whom they had to deal.

Again, it is not uncommon to employ non-commissioned officers as drill-sergeants in schools. These men, who have had years of experience in teaching recruits, and who bring high testimonials of capacity, are not infrequently hopelessly beaten, in spite of a gallant bearing and attractive personality, by a score of English school-boys, whom a "raw lad from the University" quells without raising his voice.

Not only does the young University man know the boys with whom he has to deal, but, what is or at least equal importance, they know that he knows. They will not venture on conduct in dealing with him which is contrary to a code mutually agreed upon, but never expressed. In dealing with the sergeant or other authority not versed in their habits, they are as sensitive to the weakness of his hold as a horse is to the timidity of his rider; they are tempted to self-destructive extravagances, of which generous-natured boys and horses alike disapprove in their calmer moments.

The point in which young men usually fail when they first begin to teach is in knowledge of the intellectual and mechanical ability of their pupils: they set lessons over-long or over-difficult, condemn as vicious ignorance what is really immaturity; they are more concerned in imparting information than in forming habits; they are particularly apt to be reck-

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less in setting impositions. Even in the playground they are tempted to overlook the awkward, diffident boys who really want help, and bestow their pains and encouragement upon the eager and skilful for whom such attention is less necessary.

In all these matters the guidance in a small school of a sympathetic head master, of capable and experienced colleagues in a large one, does the work which we are sometimes told should be done in a training college or some similar organization. It was unfortunately not the practice fifty years ago to look after the work of inexperienced teachers ; they were pitched neck and crop into their class-rooms, and left to fight out their difficulties for themselves ; but in this, as in many other respects, there has been a great though unnoticed improvement.

In our last chapter we saw a teacher of fine sensibility grappling with the difficulty of hearing ninety boys repeat a lesson of Greek grammar. Now, even if we grant that the rote repetition of Greek grammar is a sound way of learning Greek, a simpler way of hearing the lesson is to set all the boys to write down a few words of the lesson in answer to questions so put, as to ensure that a boy who correctly answers them both knows and understands his lesson ; and there are methods by which the answers can be looked over rapidly in class with great advantage to the boys, without any serious danger of dishonest procedure, and without over-burdening the teacher with paper work. When William Johnson

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first went to Eton, nobody had studied these mechanical devices, but they are now well known and commonly used ; still, to prescribe a fixed set of rules in a text-book and make all young teachers learn them in order to apply them would destroy their inventiveness. In schools where the methods above alluded to are employed, there is infinite variation between the practice of one master and another, and between any one master and himself at different times. This is as it should be ; a stereotyped machinery is no less bad for the pupils than for the teacher.

It is far more difficult to be reasonably certain that every one of a large class of boys has properly prepared a translation lesson ; and in schools where the classes were over-large (and they were over-large in most schools fifty years ago), a vast amount of idleness was manufactured by the inadequacy of the methods of detection. A boy was so seldom put on to construe that it was really not worth his while to learn his lesson ; now not only have the classes in our best schools been diminished in number, but more satisfactory methods have been discovered of testing each boy's knowledge of his lesson at every lesson.

Here again it is obvious that a boy who has himself been taught under a wise and efficient system takes back to school with him as a teacher precisely those methods under which he has himself learned ; and a training college would do no more for him.

Again, there is one educational appliance which

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fifty years ago was all but unknown in our schools—the blackboard. This is now widely used, not only in teaching mathematics, but in teaching languages ; it will be still more widely used when drawing, not as a fine art, but as a mechanical proficiency scarcely less important for teachers than writing, is demanded as part of the qualifications of a teacher ; but it is not necessary to establish training colleges to teach drawing on the blackboard.

The question of discipline remains. Should there not be some means of training teachers to maintain order ? Here again we are confronted with the disagreeable fact that there are no conditions under which some men can maintain order ; on the other hand, in the arts and devices by which order is maintained without friction, a man improves by practice, and by free communication with his colleagues. Rules applicable to one kind of school will not work in another. The power of maintaining wholesome discipline, good order, of which the boys are almost unconscious, depends upon a combination of moral and dramatic faculties, which are innate, and cannot be learned, though they may be improved by experience. Too much may be sacrificed to discipline. There are men in our elementary schools who keep large masses of children in perfect order, and it has hence been rashly inferred that anybody who has been properly trained can do the same ; not only is this not the case, but much time which could otherwise be spent in stimulating the understanding is

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necessarily spent in repressing restlessness. Men differ in their power of combining discipline with instruction; but the rule none the less holds good that where the teacher is by circumstances compelled to think in the first place of discipline, his success is bought at the cost of teaching.

It is perhaps worth while to digress for a moment to correct a popular misconception. Popular masters—men who attract the admiration of boys by their athletic achievements—are held to be more likely to keep good order than the less showy students. This is not, however, true; an insignificant, even short-sighted man will often keep order, where a burly oarsman completely fails. A head master who developed a mania for tall assistants would be no better served in the matter of discipline than was Frederick William of Prussia by his regiment of gigantic guardsmen. The question is ultimately one of moral force and judgment working in favourable surroundings.

The difficulty of getting properly trained teachers is, after all, one which can be satisfactorily dealt with by the head masters of schools; so long as they demand of a young assistant that his sole qualification shall be high proficiency in one particular branch of learning, and accept certificates of being learned in preference to those of having the faculty of teaching, so long will inadequate teaching be found in schools which could afford to attract teachers of experience. There are schools which, under present

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conditions, cannot hope to retain or engage experienced teachers. The failure of the teacher will be the more obvious when brilliant specialists are set to work upon the youngest boys; nor is there much chance of a general change of method on the part of head masters so long as the governing bodies of schools are at liberty to appoint to head master-ships men totally ignorant of the organization of schools, except in so far as they share with their assistants the experience of having been taught in a good school. There is nothing now to prevent a young man of five-and-twenty, who has never taught a class in his life, from being made head master of Eton, solely on the ground that he has just concluded a brilliant career at either University in one special set of subjects; and the majority of the head masters of our public schools are men who have never taught in any but the highest forms of schools, who have no personal grip of the difficulties of the young boys and their teachers, and who are either mathematicians or classics exclusively.

This leads us to a further point. What inducement is there at present held out to a teacher to make himself proficient beyond the satisfaction of feeling that he is doing his work well? None whatever; worse than none. Under present arrangements, of two public school boys coming from the same school, one who has just taken his degree at the University has a better chance of being appointed to his old school than another who, having taken a slightly less

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brilliant degree, but has spent ten years learning his business in some other school; the inexperienced man will be deliberately selected to take the higher paid work.

The facts are even worse than this. The Report of the Commission on Secondary Education tells us that in ten of the best schools the average salary of an assistant master is £242 and a fraction per annum, in one hundred and ninety others it is only £105, giving an average in the two groups of £135. The list of masters wanting appointments published by the educational agents tell an even sadder story; from them we learn that men who have had adequate experience of teaching, and who are in no sense failures, who have begun work with the qualification of high University honours, and who have since taught themselves to be good teachers, cannot hope to command even the moderate salary of the ten best schools mentioned in the Report of the Commissioners.

When facts of this kind are brought to the notice of politicians, they shrug their shoulders in a superior way, and talk of supply and demand; so long as teachers can be found to work for the existing low salaries, why interfere? The children, at any rate get the teaching; and the ultimate extinction of the teachers, whether by starvation or otherwise, is not a matter of any public importance.

Another view is, however, possible. The profession of teaching is not subject to the ordinary laws of

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supply and demand. The man who makes a better bicycle than anybody else will, unless he happens to be particularly clumsy or unfortunate, eventually command the market; not so the man who teaches better. On no other hypothesis is the endowment of education in any form desirable or reasonable. The State in regulating education protects children against the improvidence or ignorance of their parents in the interests of the continuity of the State. Parents left to their own guidance would either not get their children taught at all, or thinking cheapness the first consideration, would get them taught largely by unqualified persons. If the State insists, as it should insist, that none but qualified persons shall teach, then it must also take into consideration the question of so regulating the profession of teaching that it shall attract properly qualified persons, and that they shall have reasonable facilities for working to the best advantage of their pupils.

Under the conditions stated by the Commissioners' Report, no reasonable father belonging to the classes in which learning and refinement are least rare would encourage a son of good ability to become a school-master; and in the long run, if the ordinary laws of supply and demand were to prevail, precisely that class of persons would devote their energies to other pursuits whom experience has shown to be the best teachers for the directing classes.

Already the staffs of the less well-paid public schools tend to become fluctuating to an unwholesome

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extent ; the pushing men leave them to start independently. The country is becoming inconveniently crowded with private schools chiefly of the preparatory type : a process which cannot be continued indefinitely, and which will ultimately place the preparatory schoolmaster, and therefore his pupils, at the mercy of the least instructed parents.

Nothing is gained by the regulation of teachers by the State if the profession will not attract the best qualified men.

The tendency of democratic societies is to cut down the remuneration of all professions. Seldom do public appointments fall vacant without its being suggested, and sometimes decided, that the new man should receive less pay than the old. This is a process which can be easily carried too far, though its evils are not always brought to our attention in so startling a fashion as in the lamentable case of the town of Maidstone, whose councillors thought it wise to economise in the payment of a public analyst, and brought a pestilence upon their fellow-citizens. It may be a fact that high salaries will not necessarily procure honest public servants, but it is equally true that men whose efficient work depends largely upon their sense of honour are discouraged by finding that the value of their services is estimated by the same processes as those of the parish dustman.

There is probably no profession, except that of medicine, in which so much is necessarily left to the honour of the person exercising it as the profession

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of teaching. Were schoolmasters in the habit of applying to their work principles which are commonly held to be sound in business, they would not work as William Johnson worked ; they would spend their time in devising methods of getting the largest amount of pay with the least expenditure of trouble. Men of William Johnson's intellectual capacity are rare, but the spirit in which he worked is the spirit in which really qualified teachers always work. Defects of organization in our public schools are in some measure due to the fact that the assistant masters are not largely interested in saving themselves trouble ; a man who proposed an innovation, solely on the ground that it saved the masters trouble, would not be listened to, unless he could also clearly demonstrate that it was likely to improve the teaching, to directly benefit the boys.

Here is a day's work from the diary of an assistant master at one of our public schools, a man of thirty years of age working for a salary of £300 a year, with no reasonable prospect of any additional emolument for another ten years, and earning part of his income under conditions which render marriage an impossibility :—

7 a.m. Read prayers, then looked over exercises till 8. A and B came in wanting help in their construing.

8.45. Prayers in school, then form work till 11, quarter of an hour's respite.

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- 11.15-12. School again ; this time a set not particularly attentive.
- 12-1.30. Attendance on football *de rigueur*.
- 1.30-2. Dinner, then interviews with malefactors, set the minimum of impositions, signed orders for haberdashery, etc.
- 2.30. Short walk with X, discussed methods of teaching Latin prose.
- 4-6 p.m. School again ; contrived to keep the boys attentive during the last hour by making them act to some extent the comic scene in the *Tempest*, which they are reading.
- 7-8. Pupils construing lessons soon done with, read them some Pickwick.
- 8-9. Preparation ; kept my temper, find boys work better when I am apparently to some extent occupied in looking over exercises.
- 9.30. Prayers, afterwards some of the older boys to my study to gossip, very pleasant, but not sorry when they went to bed ; afterwards read some history for next day's lesson till 11 p.m.

The man who wrote this had been at work for sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, except for a respite of four hours from actual teaching or intercourse with boys, but these so divided that a real change of interests was impossible. On other days in the week the diary shows one or two hours less of actual work

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in school with boys, and four evenings partly free from pupils and preparation ; but the non-school hours are generally given to looking over exercises, and the evenings to private reading with a view to teaching ; even on Sundays five hours of the day are taken up with definite magisterial duties.

The recognition which this kind of work is meeting now from the press, from our politicians, when they speak on educational subjects, from the parents of the boys to whom so much of a man's life is given, is certainly not of an encouraging nature. The public schools are treated as an amiable freak of rich people, something quite outside the serious work of the nation ; it is assumed as a matter of course that money must be found liberally to exempt not only the working classes, so called, but well-to-do tradesmen, from the necessity of paying school fees. Not a voice is raised on behalf of the earnest teachers, whose liberal interpretation of their responsibilities has, in spite of some serious but inevitable blunders, materially helped to maintain the best morality of the English people. Worse than this, instead of turning to the national advantage the sound training which the assistant masters acquire in the public schools by strengthening the one form of local school in which their services could best be employed to the public benefit, instead of inviting them to become head masters of Grammar schools, and equipping the Grammar schools so as to give them fair opportunities, enthusiasts in educational matters have deliberately

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set up an untried form of school devoid of traditions, worked under conditions the least stimulating whether to the teacher or the taught; and whose ultimate outcome can only be, that the instruction of the children of the lower middle classes, and even of relatively wealthy persons living in towns, will be paid for by the taxpayer.

It must be admitted, in defence of the national apathy towards its best teachers, that the public schools have encouraged the nation to think of them as a class apart; and that they do not see how they weaken the best interests of national education by standing on one side. Parents who are told that a public school is something quite different from any other place of education may be excused for acting as if the statement were true; meanwhile, public school boys grow up in an unhealthy ignorance of the conditions of other schools, which ignorance is again manifested in the gross blunders of the majority of our public men when they come to deal with educational questions.

The interesting question of the registration of teachers will be most conveniently discussed when we have learned something about the classification of schools,

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I

THERE is a school of optimistic politicians who hold that in the long run the good sense of the English people is to be trusted : however this may be, the application of good sense is impossible without sound information. No one who seriously studies the speeches of public men on educational questions, or the comments made by journalists upon their utterances, can feel that our information on these topics is as yet sufficiently systematized to be able to claim the merit of soundness.

Many of us think that we know what a public school is, at least as many are convinced that they understand the nature of an elementary school, and most of us will not be slow to admit that between the two there is chaos. On the other hand, we are all agreed that the national system of education requires a comprehensive reorganization.

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It is, however, by no means self-evident that even those classes who use the public schools understand their distinctive features, or that they are aware of the extent to which schools created under the Education Act of 1870 have advanced beyond the elementary stage, or that they have considered the significance of the very large sums of money which are being distributed from the local and imperial taxes in aid of various educational schemes regarded with popular favour, because they are thought on the one hand to replace the narrow system of the public schools, and on the other to enable poor parents to get their children taught at a small cost.

The whole of the area between the limits of the public schools, if indeed these limits are really definable, and elementary schools doing really elementary work, may be considered a Debateable Land: the problem before the English people at present is the occupation and regulation of this anarchic territory.

The possibilities of the State with regard to education are threefold: education may be regulated by the State, it may be subsidized by the State, it may be both regulated and subsidized. Whether the funds employed to subsidize education are drawn from local or imperial taxation is merely a financial question: it may become indirectly an educational question, because the control of local schools may be committed to local ratepayers, and the relative enlightenment of their representatives as compared with

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that of the national representatives may affect the nature of the education subsidized ; but in the main point, that education is subsidized, there is no distinction between the two systems of subsidization.

It is important to keep the two questions of regulation and subsidy distinct. Even if we admit that there should be no subsidy without regulation, the question still remains open whether either regulation or subsidy is desirable ; and whether regulation without subsidy is not as desirable as subsidy with regulation.

Why should a State undertake the regulation of education at all ? or, slightly to change the form of the question, why does any State make education the subject of legislation ?

In the first place, because parents are not to be trusted to deal wisely and mercifully with their children ; in the second place, because the ignorance or incompetence of certain classes of professional men is a danger to the well-being of the community ; in the third place, because the administration of public affairs cannot safely be entrusted to ignorant or untrained men.

In obedience to the first of these reasons we compel parents, who would otherwise set their children to earn wages, to send them to school till they are strong enough to undertake manual labour.

Because of the second we do not allow men to practise as physicians or surgeons, to become mining engineers, to preach in the pulpit of the Established

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Church, to accept payment for advising their fellow-citizens on questions of law, to plead in the law courts, unless they can produce certificates of having qualified themselves by acquiring a certain standard of knowledge, which certificates can be issued by the State directly, or indirectly through certain public bodies recognised by it, such as the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, the Universities, the Incorporated Law Society, Inns of Court, and others.

The third causes us to compel candidates for the army, navy, and other public services, which are paid by the State, to pass certain examinations with or without competition.

Unpaid servants of the State, members of both Houses of Parliament, County Councillors, Town Councillors, and the like, are not required to produce certificates of being in the possession of knowledge of any kind, because they are subject to popular election, and it is an axiom of modern politics that all electors can be trusted to discriminate between the relative fitnesses of candidates for the work with which they wish to be entrusted.

The State subsidizes any particular form of instruction when it prescribes that instruction as a necessary preliminary for admission to the public services or any other remunerative occupation. Were the authorities who preside over the examinations by which candidates are admitted to the Indian Civil Service to prescribe acquaintance with the "use of the globes" as a necessary qualification for young

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men who are to be entrusted with the administration of justice in India, persons would be able to earn money by teaching the use of the globes. The large class of teachers, invidiously called "crammers," are able to charge relatively high fees because the subjects which they teach are subsidized by the State, through the examinations for Woolwich and Sandhurst. This is a form of subsidy which costs the taxpayer practically nothing, but which presses severely on the individual parent.

Again, when the State says through the mouth of the authorities of the Science and Art Department at South Kensington, that the expenses of teaching boys and girls a certain group of subjects will be defrayed in great part by the State, when the pupils attain a fixed standard of proficiency, the State subsidizes those subjects. It does not merely induce parents, who would otherwise not get their children taught at all, to get them taught at least those subjects; it invites parents, who would in any case get their children taught, to neglect all other subjects.

The enormous responsibility incurred by the State in subsidizing particular subjects is a matter which has escaped the observation of our legislators.

There is then a very narrow line dividing one form of regulating education from subsidizing education.

Again, there are two ways of direct money payments by which a State may subsidize education; it may provide buildings and pay teachers, or it may

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pay pupils either to learn particular subjects, or to attain a high standard of proficiency in those subjects. Government grants as at present distributed in England, whether they cover the whole or only a part of the expenses of the teaching for which they are assigned, belong to the second system of subsidization : so do all the scholarships and valuable prizes. To the first belong such parts of the emoluments of the professors at the Universities and elsewhere, and of teachers in schools, as are not derived from the fees of the pupils, but from endowments. In only a few cases does the State directly endow in England, though it secures and regulates existing endowments made in past times by private persons.

So long as bounties paid by the State, whether directly or indirectly in favour of certain courses of study, are employed to secure the existence of a body of men sufficiently well informed and well trained to perform duties which are indispensable to the well-being of the community, the evil of interfering with the ordinary laws of supply and demand is reduced to a minimum ; but even to justify this minimum of interference, we must assume or admit that without this artificial stimulus properly qualified persons would be too rare : and this assumption or admission involves our recognition of two facts—one, that in the long run parents evade the obligation of instructing their children up to the standard wholesome for the service of the State ; the other that the number of persons capable of appreciating the distinction be-

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tween a properly qualified and unqualified practitioner of any profession is so small, that there would be no inducement for professional men to take the trouble to train themselves unless the State intervened.

There is an essential distinction between saying, "If you wish to be an officer in the army, or a teacher in a school, you must be able to produce evidence of having undergone a particular kind of training," and saying, "If you like to learn certain things, the State will pay your school expenses, otherwise not."

In the first case a wise community takes measures to protect itself from incapacity on the part of its servants, in the second an unwise community eventually burdens itself with the expense of all the teaching; for in the long run all children will be instructed under the system paid for and approved by the State.

The question of State subsidy may, however, be looked at from a different point of view.

The State required, by the Education Act of 1870, that all children should be sent to school. Upon this demand followed the Free Education Act; for it was argued, if the State compels a man to send his children to school, the State, not the parent, should pay the expenses of the teaching. Similarly might it not be argued, that wherever the State imposes a particular course of instruction, it should pay for that instruction?

There is, however, an obvious distinction. The State does not compel any parent to submit his children to the more costly preparation for certain

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professions. The choice is left to the parent. If he thinks it more advantageous to his children to become professional men, he takes into consideration the increased cost of education; the State is still willing to give his children elementary education free of cost.

Again, whatever arguments may be brought in favour of free elementary education, the argument given above is unsound. When the State compels a parent to send his children to school rather than to manual labour, it acts in defence of the weak against the strong, just as it protects animals from cruel usage by their owners. Experience had demonstrated that this was necessary. But then, would it not have been sufficient to exclude children up to a certain age from the workshops and other labour? Again, experience seemed to indicate that the safety of the community would be ultimately endangered by letting children run loose. The State stepped in to protect itself from the results of parental improvidence and neglect; but to relieve the improvident parent of the expense of teaching and controlling his children was bad economy. Statisticians assure us that compulsory education has not resulted in a diminution of juvenile crime, but rather the reverse. This is not surprising. After all, it is by home discipline that healthy moral habits are formed, and free compulsory education relieves the home of responsibility.

The step, however, has been taken, and cannot be

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retraced. Still, it is necessary to discuss this form of subsidization of education, because we have already gone some distance in extending the system upwards.

In order to induce artisans to allow their children to remain at school after the age of thirteen, and School Boards to supplement the elementary schools, the higher grade system was devised. A list of subjects was drawn up by which grants might be earned ; that is to say, that if certain subjects were taught up to the standard of the requirements of the Government inspectors, the greater part of the expense of teaching these subjects would be defrayed by the taxpayer. The regulations of the Education Office are so unstable that a statement made one year may not be true the next year. At present, however, the average fee for higher grade classes is limited to 9*d.* per week in voluntary schools, and there are now free higher grade schools. If we assume the school year to be a period of forty weeks, this means that a parent can procure instruction in these subjects, even in a voluntary school, at a cost of thirty shillings a year. The list includes all the subjects which are taught in grammar schools and public schools except Greek, with the pleasing additions of horticulture for boys and domestic economy for girls. These schools are further at liberty, by adopting the regulations of the Science and Art Department at South Kensington, to become organized science schools, and earn further grants.

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Here we have a case in which the system of direct subsidization by the State has been carried beyond the point of elementary education. Part of the Debateable Land has already been annexed. A writer in the *Times* of September 22nd, 1897, claimed the rest of the territory for the same organization.

We have not yet definitely committed ourselves to the views of this sanguine gentleman. Before we do so, it would be as well to look into the matter more closely.

In the first place, the higher grade schools have entered into competition with existing grammar schools. They profess to teach the same subjects, and even claim to employ better methods. Whether this claim can be substantiated is of no importance at present; what is important, and what is capable of proof, is this, that in places where both exist, precisely the same class of parents send their children to either. The higher grade school does not tempt the artisan to keep his children longer at school to any great extent, or perhaps it would be more exact to say that it tempts the well-to-do tradesman to educate his children, at the expense of the payer of rates and taxes, to a greater extent.

Even such an excellent institution as the Girls' Public Day School Company feels in some localities the competition of the higher grade school.

This was not contemplated by the men who super-added the higher grade school to the elementary school. Their object was to induce the artisan to

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give his children a chance of doing what is called "bettering" themselves ; to raise the standard of instruction in the class who earn daily wages ; not to depress the standard of parental responsibility in the class who are paid monthly or quarterly salaries, or who are more or less successful in earning a livelihood by commerce.

If a private individual, inclined to benevolence, knowing all the circumstances of a poorer neighbour, offers to defray the expense of educating one of his children, who has shown signs of exceptional ability, so that the gifted child may get the greatest possible advantage from the possession of that ability, he has acted kindly and possibly wisely ; but a course of action which may be commendable in an individual is apt to be exceedingly unwise when it is pursued by the State.

The State has no interest in employing the sons of poor men rather than the sons of rich men ; what the State requires is efficient servants, or, again, that in all departments of life each individual should be well qualified to do the work of his own department.

Men who are attracted by a scheme of national education which makes it easy for the son of an artisan to become a clerk, overlook the fact that the nation requires artisans as much as clerks. To place the opportunities of change from one kind of occupation to another in the forefront of our educational ambitions is equivalent to declaring that there is something discreditable in those occupations from

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which the transference to another class of occupation is made easy. Further, to invite the brighter sons of artisans to leave the occupation of their fathers can only result in depressing the intellectual standard of the artisan; only the dullards will continue to work as their fathers have worked.

To take another point of view. It is too much the fashion to regard employment under the State as a prize to be won, and to overlook the fact that it is also a responsibility demanding moral and physical no less than intellectual qualifications. In England we are fortunate in the possession of a large number of families who habitually train their sons for the public service in preference to other forms of employment; it is easy to suggest other motives than an enlightened patriotism for this line of action, but the fact remains that relatively the professional classes spend far more in proportion to their incomes on training their children for the public service than the commercial classes; and in doing so, they, to judge them by the ordinary standards of business men, deny themselves for the public good. To take a concrete case. Under the present regulations the earliest age at which a boy can pass into Sandhurst is sixteen. This means that for six years, at least, he will have been taught in schools of which the average fee is at least £100 per annum: his father will have spent £600 on his education up to his entrance into Sandhurst, and he will have to pay annually as much as his school fees, if not more, for sometime after-

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wards. He might have sent his son to the nearest higher grade school at 9*d.* a week, and have spent the £600 on his own pleasures, or increased it by investment. The father of more than one son will spend more in proportion to the size of the family : whatever is spent in this way is so much gain to the State. The family has trained soldiers for the service of the nation ; and the State has made a better bargain than if it had devised a system of schools, whereby the sons of artisans could become officers in the army without cost to their parents.

Again, there is a form of capital possessed by the State, which cannot be expressed in figures, but which is none the less there ; viz., the inherited good tendencies of families in which noble ways of living have been practised for many generations. The quality called genius, being of the nature of a fortuitous and unusual combination of inherited faculties, is naturally not transmitted from father to son in the majority of cases, but the family temperament is unquestionably transmitted as regularly as the family features. Teachers who have had the opportunity of comparing their pupils with the parents of their pupils, and have enjoyed, as is unfortunately too rare, equal intimacy with the older and the younger generations, note the minuteness to which family resemblances are carried, not only in external habits which might be copied, but in mental processes and moral tendencies. Families in which for a long number of years honour, thrift, and refinement have been the

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guiding principles of life, have accumulated for the service of the State a fund of capital: intellectual quickness may exist, and does exist, unaccompanied by these qualities. No system of examination has as yet been devised which can test other than intellectual qualities, or even those in a really satisfactory manner. A school system which would tend to relieve the parent of the practice of foresight and self-denial on behalf of his children, and would then appoint those children to the public services simply on their performances under examination, would tend to destroy in the long run precisely those qualities which are most valuable to the life of a nation.

This digression is not unnecessary; one of the practical difficulties in marking out the Debateable Land is the short-sighted kindness of people who do not see that little can be gained to the community by making what is called an educational ladder, whereas much may be lost.

To encourage the artisan's wife to think that if her son goes to work wearing a black coat, and sits on a stool all day, he is necessarily the social superior of his father, who wears overalls and works in a shed, but, if capable and industrious, earns more than a clerk, is to sanction the least desirable form of social ambition. There is probably no country except America in which a thrifty artisan with good brains so often becomes a wealthy man as in England. He achieves this result by sticking to his business and honouring his work. If the family has a sound

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moral strain, his sons will succeed him and improve upon the advantages which he has given them ; if not, a couple of generations will bring them back to where they started from, and they will have done less mischief to the nation in the process than if they had climbed up an educational ladder, become clergymen, schoolmasters, or Civil Service clerks, and proved equally wanting in moral qualities.

There is a popular maxim to the effect that "many an honest heart beats beneath a ragged coat." Nobody questions or ever questioned its truth ; but an honest heart may beat, perhaps less comfortably, but with equal regularity, beneath a new dress coat and elaborately starched shirt ; and the frame of mind which prefers virtue in tatters is not necessarily more enlightened than that which believes habits of refinement and even the possession of wealth to be compatible with virtue.

Our non-commissioned officers are a fine body of men ; but though, according to Rudyard Kipling, they occasionally find it necessary to sit on the heads of "Orficer boys" in action, their best friends would hesitate to entrust them wholesale with responsibilities in the way of control of stores and the issue of pay. The temptations of the commission system in making contracts for supplies put a severe strain upon the fidelity of a public servant.

A scrupulous sense of honour in dealing with commercial transactions on behalf of the public does not invariably come by the training of a single in-

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dividual ; it is more often the result of an inherited moral habit. Standards of honour in the individual are not unfrequently relative to circumstances ; many a man will shrink from defrauding a comrade who will not hesitate to defraud the State. Over many years the morale of our public servants in this respect has become exceptionally high ; it would be a serious error to start again from the beginning ; it would be a very serious error to throw public appointments open wholesale to a class of men who think it honourable to spend the accumulated savings of their fellow-workers, the insurance which they had made for their old age, on securing better pay for themselves. The honest heart seems to beat rather feebly beneath the coats of the young men who are now on strike to secure for themselves less work and the possibilities of more pay, and who force old men to contribute a shilling a week from pensions of ten shillings.

To conclude this branch of our inquiry : the individual parent to whom a particular course of education is suggested for his children is apt to ask, "What shall I get by it ?" The statesman can only answer this question with safety in one way : "You will most probably get nothing ; our object in organizing our schools is not to give this individual boy an advantage over any other individual boy, but to make all boys fit for their work. On the other hand, we believe that the sound training of children according to the measure of their future responsi-

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bilities promotes the well-being of the nation, and enables it to contend on equal or superior terms with other nations ; by the improved competency of the nation your children will profit. There are certain professions, certain forms of employment in the service of the state, for which experience has proved that a lengthy and expensive course of training is necessary. We therefore prescribe, in the interests of the nation, and even of the individual, a certain course of training for these professions, and refuse to allow persons who have not been so trained to practise in them. If your son submits to the longer and more expensive training, he will of course have a chance, which he would not otherwise have, of getting employment in these professions ; but he will be at no advantage compared with other young men equally qualified."

To bribe parents to get their children properly taught is a process which once begun may be continued *ad infinitum*, and not only may be, but must be. Experience has shown that a delicacy about getting one's own children taught at the expense of somebody else, "on charity," as the phrase used to be, breaks down, not only under the pressure of poverty but under the pressure of greediness.

Fortunately there is in existence in our country a high conception of what the duty of the individual and the nation should be in the matter of education. Is this conception to be welcomed and encouraged by our legislators, or is it to be snubbed ? So far

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it is being subjected to a large amount of indirect snubbing.

II

THE term "Secondary School" has not yet passed into popular use, probably because no two persons are in agreement as to its definition. If we classify schools simply by the subjects which are stated to be taught in them, higher grade schools are secondary schools, though Mr. Whitaker has not yet included them in that list which does not distinguish between Eton and Ayton.

Practically, it is at present impossible to classify schools according to the subjects taught. In default of a more scientific classification we may learn something from popular ways of talking about them. An enquirer proceeding on these lines discovers that there are boarding and day schools, public schools and grammar schools, high schools, middle class schools, commercial schools, county schools, private schools, preparatory schools, and schools under the Education Act. There is also a considerable sprinkling of colleges, academies, and seminaries: these are chiefly conducted by private adventurers and are eminently genteel.

We would all agree that the schools called public schools claim to stand at the head of this list. Even if, for purposes of our own, we disputed this claim, and we could satisfactorily establish a distinction

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between a school, which is the private property of its head master, who may appoint his own successor, or close it when he pleases, and a school in which the head master is appointed by a body of trustees, who are bound to keep the school open in accordance with the will of its Founder, or in consequence of an arrangement made with the State, once having established this distinction, we are bound to class all grammar schools with Winchester and Eton. Is there any reason for not doing so?

The position of the public schools in England is so peculiar, so totally different, for instance, from anything in existence on the Continent, so typical of the best as well as of some of the less desirable features of English social life, and is, at the same time, productive of so much confusion, that an enquiry, not into what they should be, but into what they are, is an absolutely necessary preliminary, if we intend to map out the Debateable Land.

To begin with, why are these schools called Public?

The name is in no sense a scientific definition : it has come to us in two ways. In the first place, it was not invariably, but very commonly stated by the persons who founded schools in early days, that these schools were to teach "public" for the benefit of the people residing in the localities where they were founded. Thus Manchester Grammar School, and most other grammar schools, have as much right to call themselves "public" schools as Eton and Harrow,

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more right than recently-founded schools, such as Marlborough, Cheltenham, Clifton, and Rossall, which are not bound so to teach.

In the second place, the dearth of places of education, caused by the suppression of educational foundations at the period of the Reformation, followed by the neglected condition into which the majority of the survivors were allowed to fall after the Restoration, brought a number of schools into being conducted by private persons. Public schools were hence distinguished from these ; the term was not originally associated with a superior standard of merit : the poet Cowper was not alone in stigmatising public schools as rough and brutal. Even if we refuse to accept as scientifically accurate the picture of Rugby before the days of Arnold, given in *Tom Brown*, we cannot refuse to admit the evidence of persons still living as to the hideous squalor and discomfort in which the Foundation boys at Eton and elsewhere were allowed to live till close on the middle of the present century.

Nor was a public school necessarily a boarding school ; in theory, the non-foundation boys at Eton and elsewhere are the sons of towns-folk who take advantage of the " public " nature of the teaching.

The first Public schools in which the boarding element became the predominant feature were Westminster, Eton, and Harrow ; in the cases of all three proximity to London, and in the case of Eton proximity to Windsor, determined their popularity. At

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the same time there were country schools, such as Tiverton, Rugby, and some others, which, before the days of railway travelling, were largely used by country gentlemen. The magnificence of the Foundation of Winchester early attracted boarders. The present character of the public schools was, however, determined by the fact that the three schools near London were attended by the sons of wealthy men ; hence, not only the head master but his assistants also were men of exceptional ability and refinement. These schools could compete with the Bar and other learned professions for ambitious young men. The expansion of wealth in the present century further tended to increase the importance of these schools ; they were the places in which our leading statesmen were taught, and not a few of our men of letters. The merchants of Liverpool, the manufacturers of Birmingham, were not discredibly anxious to have their sons educated as the Duke of Wellington, and Canning, and Peel had been educated ; to say nothing, at a latter date, of Mr. Gladstone, and other luminaries.

Dr. Arnold gave a further impetus to the movement in the direction of public boarding schools. Meanwhile, such local Grammar Schools as did not succeed in re-establishing themselves, as Rugby and Uppingham have re-established themselves, fell more and more into decay.

By the middle of the century the public schools had already practically monopolised the teaching of

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men of leisure, and of those who were destined for the higher professions.

A system which, however, had begun with meeting the demands of the wealthy proved too expensive for the ordinary professional man, and different experiments were made in the direction of creating cheap public schools. The first cheap public school of any importance was Marlborough, founded in the interests of the clergy of the Established Church ; Rossall, in the north of England, followed the same lines. It was, however, found that the necessary cost of housing, feeding, and teaching boys was higher than had been anticipated. Marlborough narrowly escaped bankruptcy, and had to increase its fees considerably. At present, where the fees are not supplemented by endowment, the cost of a public school education is seldom less than £90 a year.

The curriculum of the older public schools naturally followed the lines indicated by the Founders. It was precisely the same as that of all grammar schools throughout the country. The new public schools followed suit. The methods of teaching were unfortunately not improved with increased prosperity and larger funds ; for a long while these schools were lamentably under-staffed. During the last thirty years there has, however, been an immense improvement in the methods of teaching ; these may not in all cases have come up to the demands of an idealist ; it is not to be expected that they should. Similarly, it might be possible to prove that sound

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modifications could be effected in the curriculum without damaging the general spirit of any particular school. This does not, however, affect the fact that the teaching of an English public school needs no apology, when compared with the teaching in schools frequented by the same class in France and Germany.

In one point the English public schools are superior to all schools that ever have been : they have discovered the educational value of games. People who condemn athletics wholesale either do not know or forget how much of social morality is learned practically through our school games ; how much of organization, how much of mutual forbearance, of willing submission to equals, of self-sacrifice in defence of the common cause, of things, in short, which cannot be learned in school. It is possible to conceive a public school education without Latin or Greek ; it is impossible to imagine it without playing fields.

Those who mistrust a public school education—and there are not a few old public school men who share the suspicion with which it is regarded by men who know nothing about it—would do well to remind themselves that the growth of these schools has not been accompanied by any deterioration in the national character. Quite the reverse. When the story of England has become a part of ancient history, and when our place among nations shall be estimated by the historians of a far distant date ; when we shall be weighed in the balance, as the great Italian Republic, which made an empire, is now

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weighed, this particular period of our history will be picked out as the one in which England first decisively showed herself as the one great civilizing force. Errors of judgment will doubtless be detected by future historians, and as the story of great scandals is preserved, when the story of daily undemonstrative success passes unnoticed, there may perhaps be writers who will accept some future Tacitus as the one truthful exponent of our moral or social conditions. But no partial verdict, based upon insufficient information, can ever do away with the significance of our government of India; nor will the record of the singular earnestness of English life in the Victorian age ever pass away. Let us then, in all justice, call to mind the fact that the large majority of our Indian Civil Servants, an equally large majority of our military officers, most of our distinguished lawyers and our clergy, not a few of our eminent physicians, a considerable proportion even of our men of science, are men who have been educated at our public schools, or in schools which, though popularly denied that title, are none the less influenced by public school standards. Not the smallest service rendered by the public schools has been the training of a large number of teachers, who, in the face of much opposition, work in the spirit in which they have been taught.

The charges most commonly brought against the public school system of teaching are to this effect: excessive attention is given to Latin and Greek,

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especially to Greek ; insufficient attention is given to Science and Mathematics ; too much attention is given to games ; the externals of refinement are valued too highly ; the formation of habits of industry is sacrificed to athletics ; expensive habits of living are encouraged rather than frugality.

Of these charges the last four may be dismissed summarily as an indictment not of the public schools, but of the parents who send their boys to them. No school regulations can adequately contend with the parents who supply their children with unbounded pocket-money, unnecessary clothes, unlimited eatables, and who deliberately set the achievements of the playing fields above the school work. If the externals of refinement at the public schools are not accompanied by a corresponding improvement of character, the schools are not alone to be held guilty. These things are part of home training, as well as of school training. Boys who come from families in which what are called the social advantages of a public school are alone thought of, cannot be expected to give themselves heartily to its more arduous forms of training.

The charge against the teaching is a more difficult thing to deal with. It is largely based upon an inadequate appreciation of what school teaching should be, can be, and cannot be. No system of teaching has ever been devised, or ever will be devised, which will satisfy the ideals of those men, who can only think of teaching as a direct preparation for some

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special trade or employment; there are so many trades and employments. So far as the public schools were to blame fifty years ago, they were to blame precisely because they followed the lines of the men who now clamour for Science and Technical instruction. They gave technical instruction for the purposes of boys who were going to pass through the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge into a small group of learned professions, whose historical development made the same course of preparation adequate for each individual member of the group.

They were certainly not to blame for refusing to make room in their curriculum for Modern languages and Sciences, at a time when the capacity of these subjects for the purposes of mental development was not understood. That they have since been slow to recast their scheme of work is on the whole a point in their favour; they have defended the cause of education against mere instruction, and if they have done so in a more narrow spirit than would recommend itself to a competent observer, those who attack them are open to precisely the same charge. There is as much room for a narrow bigotry in pressing the claims of Science, as in rejecting them. Nor is it as yet by any means certain that Science and Mathematics alone could give a better mental training, a sounder foundation for the future edifice of learning, than the most rigid adherence to the classics. We have seen that a very narrow classical training

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did not stunt the intellect of William Johnson nor lead him to despise Science.

Even in at first resisting the Army examinations, and the examinations for the Indian Civil Service, the public schools were not wrong. These examinations were not devised by men who had an intimate acquaintance with teaching ; the number of subjects included was far too large ; and a boy cannot pass into Sandhurst at sixteen even now without working more hours a day than is good for him at that age, and under conditions of pressure which are the reverse of wholesome. The not unfrequent changes in the regulations for the examination of candidates for the Indian Civil Service and the Army are a sufficient evidence that the first organizers of those examinations could not lay claim to the possession of perfect illumination.

Much that has been argued against the public school teaching has been urged by people, who, for various reasons accept Dickens' Mr. Feeder, B.A., as the prevalent type of schoolmaster, and believe that his methods are universally employed. This gentleman was in the habit of turning on the Cæsar stop or the Xenophon stop for half an hour at a time, and getting through his work in a purely mechanical fashion, while conveying the least possible amount of instruction. We have been told that boys are not taught to read at a public school, and yet a construing lesson always involves reading, and that, too, reading aloud : that they are not taught to write, and

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yet they are continually employed in writing exercises : that they are not taught to spell, when these same exercises demand habits of precision in spelling. It is quite true that boys of thirteen are expected to have done with copies by the time they arrive at a public school : indeed, much of the adverse criticism of this nature is made by people who were themselves sent to public schools inadequately prepared, or who have sent their own children to these advanced schools devoid of the necessary previous training ; or again, who are quite incapable of measuring any proficiencies that are beyond the mechanical training desirable in a clerk or an accountant.

Two of the bugbears of those who do not understand the public schools are Greek and Latin verses. The position of the former is already considerably modified : as to the latter, the head master of Haileybury has recently published a defence of the practice of teaching them, which is certainly worth some attention. Mr. Lyttelton was himself educated in what William Johnson at one time called "Hawtreys great verse mill," and the coiner of that phrase was his tutor: he has had a long experience of teaching, not only as a head master, and it may therefore be assumed that he speaks with an adequate knowledge of the facts. Nor can Mr. Lyttelton, whose achievements in the cricket field are a matter of public notoriety, and whose prowess at football, though less notorious, was equally the admiration of his contemporaries, be classed with those students whose interest

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in boys is confined to one side only of school life. Mr. Lyttelton claims for the practice of writing Latin verses certain mechanical advantages, which, in his opinion, no other form of instruction possesses in the same degree. He does not base this claim solely upon the importance of æsthetic training as part of a sound education ; though he has something to say upon that subject which is well worth attention, he, perhaps, more effectively, deals with the mental and moral processes through which a boy has to go who writes a Latin verse ; and proves that a boy who has written a verse has gained in three things, sureness of vocabulary, a perception of rhythm, automatic punishment of inaccuracy in grammar. In writing prose, Mr. Lyttelton contends that a boy does not suffer from his grammatical blunders in the same way that he does when he writes verse. The fact that he has made a mistake in gender, for instance, when he writes prose, is associated in his mind simply with the *ipse dixit* of his teacher ; whereas the use of the right gender in a verse enables the verse to be done and the correct form is associated with success. A boy who has puzzled unsuccessfully for a quarter of an hour over a verse, because he has used a word in the wrong gender, and then has found that the correction of this small mistake at once sets matters straight, is likely to remember the gender of that word for ever and aye ; and the same remark applies to other forms of inaccuracy. Then in its elementary stages Mr. Lyttelton defends Latin verse-making as

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the most helpful means to a desired end, not as an end in itself, a line of argument with which all true teachers will sympathise. Mr. Lyttelton's remarks upon the fourth gain, the stimulating effect of Latin verse-writing, are even more valuable.

"We ought to observe that the fact just mentioned, that the finishing of the verse makes itself felt, is one of no little importance. There is in all our school work, and notably in the lower stages, a grievous want of subjects, which at any stage allow this glad sense of completion. The human artificer longs instinctively to be able to look on a bit of work and say, "It is mine ; it is finished ; and it is good." And it is, perhaps, the most valuable feature of verse-making that, when it is well taught, it continually imparts this legitimate joy, but it does so without being mechanical. The satisfaction—strange to adults—which all young boys find in bringing out a long division sum, is simply the play of this same instinct, which has had very little scope for exercise elsewhere. But long division sums involve no thinking of the same complex and scientific sort that the turning of a hexameter demands. It is worth remarking, too, that the craving to attempt and finish something is constantly stimulated and satisfied by games. Every good stroke that wins a rally in a ball game, every innings that wins a match, every round at golf that betters the player's record, are cases in point ; whereas in ordinary school work (excepting mathematics) there may be progress, but

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there is very little to mark successful achievement with a vividness at all adequate to the learner's desire. Of course, to any one who thinks that our teaching of Latin so abounds in stimulus that we suffer from excess rather than from defect, this argument can bring no conviction. I can only say that I do not share his view ; but rather, that long consideration of the mental tone exhibited by lads of fifteen, when they are learning Latin, forces me to the conclusion that not only do our methods lack stimulus, but that they are as conspicuously devoid of it, as by this very defect to endanger the whole of classical education in England ; and that whenever we can discern any ingredient of stimulus in any practice of teaching, traditional or modern, we ought most jealously to guard and preserve it. And while hesitating to affirm that verse-making satisfies the necessary conditions to the full, I should say that it does so more fully than any other linguistic or literary exercise in vogue at schools at the present time. The look of well-merited satisfaction on a lad's face, as he writes down the complete verse and draws a line under it, marking off this chequered little chapter of patient and piecemeal endeavour from the next, is a faint reflection of the rapture often to be detected in games. To compare small things with great, the perfecting of a pentameter is, in this one respect only, not wholly unlike the hitting of a half-volley to leg."

Mr. Lyttelton further dwells upon the immense intellectual advantage which a boy has gained when

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he has reached the stage of translating English verse into Latin verse. He cannot suggest any better way of training the mind in the necessary art of fully understanding our poets, and very justly derides all forms of analysis and paraphrase, as tending to make the original poem loathsome to the person who has analysed or paraphrased.

The outcome of Mr. Lyttelton's book is a salutary warning against hasty condemnation of systems of teaching by those who have never taught. Even experts, who think there are weak places in his arguments, and an inadequate appreciation of the possibilities of other teaching instruments than Latin verses, must admit that his argument is conducted on the right lines, and that the cause of sound education would probably lose rather than gain were any legislative enactment to render it impossible for Mr. Lyttelton to teach Latin verses.

The neglect of Modern Languages was largely due to the fact that the only conception of a reason for learning them was restricted to their practical use. It was not seen that French and German can be taught on lines which give most of the advantages obtained in the process of learning Latin and Greek : it was forgotten that Latin was learned at schools as a spoken language till a comparatively recent period, and that Latin had gained as a teaching instrument precisely when it ceased to be spoken. This subject will be dealt with in greater detail in a later chapter ; meanwhile, it may be added that the French wars at

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the end of the last century and beginning of this considerably impeded the growth of a systematic instruction in French, and collaterally of other modern languages. The Nelsonian hatred of Frenchmen was extended to their language ; even at an earlier date Dr. Johnson had begun to growl at the invasion of London by Frenchmen : this would have been unnecessary had there not been a considerable intellectual intercourse between France and England before the Revolution. Voltaire learned much from his residence in England ; among other things, the value of Swift's methods of satirical writing.

When of our two Universities one was exclusively mathematical, and the other classical, the proper place of mathematical training was not likely to be seen by the public schools and grammar schools ; they followed, to begin with, the lines of the Universities : they taught either Classics or Mathematics, not both. The exclusive study of Mathematics does not produce the intellectual qualities which were valued by the wealthy and refined parents who gave the first impetus to Westminster and Eton, and Mathematics were chiefly taught in the local grammar schools which by scholarships and exhibitions were closely connected with the University of Cambridge. This led to a social disparagement of Mathematics, which was helped on by an unfortunate tendency to confound Mathematics with Arithmetic, and therefore to despise this branch of study as being only fit for tradesmen. There was a time when, in certain

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classes of society, it was almost less damaging to be a criminal than a tradesman. The practice of over early specialization, arising from the scholarship system, has tended to perpetuate the division between Classics and Mathematics ; but as Mathematics lend themselves to the purposes of examination to a degree which is not attainable by languages, the positions are not unlikely to be reversed. A combination of the two branches of training in due proportions is to be desired ; exclusive training in one or the other is extremely undesirable, least desirable of all is exclusive training in Mathematics. Information is not necessarily imparted, curiosity is not necessarily stimulated by the teacher of Mathematics. If the public schools had been exclusively Mathematical, they might with justice have been accused of neglecting History and Geography.

The first move in the direction of reforming the public school curriculum was distinctly unfortunate. The addition of modern sides to the public schools was an unworthy performance. The modern sides were defectively organized, they were largely recruited from the classes which habitually neglect the early stages of their children's education ; and as their curriculum was based, not upon a careful consideration of the relative value of subjects in combination, but upon the supposed demands of the parents, their teaching was inadequate. Thus "modern subjects" were discredited in the eyes of the classical teachers, and into many schools a most undesirable complexity

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of organization was introduced—especially into the smaller schools, where there were neither enough boys nor enough teachers to maintain two courses at the same time.

The multiplication of examinations for the Professions and Public Services differing but little from one another, and yet differing sufficiently in the number of subjects set, and in the relative standards demanded in these different subjects, to make it difficult, if not impossible, to prepare all candidates in the same classes, has further increased the difficulties of the public schools. A comprehensive reorganization of all such examinations is perhaps the best thing that we can hope for from legislation in the matter of secondary education.

To summarise this somewhat lengthy paper. In spite of some not incurable defects the public schools represent the best form of education given in England; it is the education most suitable for the directing classes of a great nation: it is moral, physical, and intellectual. Its moral training is active, not passive; it does not merely prohibit vice, it stimulates virtuous ambition: its physical training is not purely mechanical, but gives room for the exercise of moral qualities as well as for the development of healthy activity: its intellectual training has proved itself at least equal to that of other nations.

The question before us now is the extent to which public school ideals are capable of being extended to classes which have not as yet come in contact with

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them, and which view them with suspicion and dislike. On the one side we have a mean conception of education, gross ignorance of its possibilities alike positive and negative, mistrust of refinement, impatience of necessary discipline, a determination to learn only what seems to be pecuniarily and immediately profitable, and a strong bias towards getting that minimum of instruction paid for by somebody else ; on the other side we have the type of character, the standard of morality, the intellectual and social ambitions, which have invariably been observed to accompany the highest development of great nations. Which of these shall occupy the Debateable Land ?

III

THE organization of the Debateable Land up to the present time has been seriously hampered by a general unwillingness to face the problem of Subjects, an inclination to assume helpless indigence among that portion of the population of our provincial towns which does not earn weekly wages, leading to a tendency to offer instruction gratuitously, by too low an estimate of the value of schools, by too high an estimate of the value of Colleges, Scientific and Technical, by an inadequate comprehension of the preparation necessary for the work of those Colleges and by the inherent English vice of offering prizes, rather than demanding qualifications, as an

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inducement to parents to get their children properly taught.

The question of subjects is a large one, and will best be considered in a separate paper. The proper position of Scientific and Technical Colleges will be easily deduced from the conclusions then arrived at ; the question of gratuitous instruction can be dealt with at once.

When a number of enterprising gentlemen in a provincial town get together to found a school, whether for boys or girls, the basis upon which they estimate the fees is invariably the sum which it is supposed the parents will pay, never the sum which the particular kind of school contemplated must necessarily cost. The fact that particular subjects cannot be effectively taught in over-large classes, that the multiplication of subjects necessarily involves increase of staff unless the teaching is to be a sham, that it is not worth while to found a school which is no school, that good teaching is necessarily more expensive than bad teaching, that if parents are allowed to fix their own fees they will fix them as near zero as possible : all these several points are habitually disregarded in dealing with educational questions by men of no inconsiderable enlightenment ; and their attitude is the collective attitude of the nation at the present moment.

Are we drifting into this position—that instruction in day schools is to be practically gratuitous, while the cost of instruction in boarding-schools is to fall

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chiefly on the parent who pays the largest proportion of the rates and taxes which maintain the day schools ?

An educational system, which is devised on the assumption that all parents would get their children well educated if they could afford to pay for it, is founded on an assumption, which is contradicted by the every-day experience of any man who keeps his eyes open and studies the practice of his neighbours.

In well-endowed grammar schools, which are able to charge low fees, the influence of the parents is unceasingly directed to lowering the character of the education given, though the good education may cost them no more than the bad. So far they have had things entirely their own way. Local grammar schools, unless they happen to have become chiefly boarding-schools, have in most cases become practically useless to the boy, who is qualified to be educated on the higher plane, but who is not a prize-winner. The organization of such schools is reduced to a system of patch-work in order to make room for the multifarious non-educational subjects which short-sighted, uneducated parents think desirable to be learned. Even modern languages get no opportunity of being properly taught, while Mathematics win parental approbation only so long as the term mathematics is co-extensive with simple arithmetic. A fair and square argument on education with the average tradesman quickly reveals the fact, that he does

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not want his son to learn more than how to read, write, and work sums ; if very ambitious, he will add bookkeeping and shorthand, of which the former is best learned by actual practice in an office ; and the latter as a school subject occupies a disproportionate amount of time, is rapidly forgotten unless continuously practised, and quickly gets a boy into the habit of listening without understanding. A shorthand writer no more attends to the sense of what he is taking down than a compositor to the meaning of the type that he sets up. Science has impressed the imagination of a few parents of this class, but then not as a means of acquiring scientific habits of thought : they have an idea that science means "useful" information, like the cookery book ; and by "useful" information they mean information which can be sold.

If regulation of Secondary Education by the State is to be conducted on lines dictated by persons of this way of thinking, it is not worth anybody's while to interfere, still less to make such teaching gratuitous. Interference by the State is superfluous unless it represents the opinions, founded on experience, supported by reason, of men who can see further than the average shop-keeper.

If the State merely organizes Secondary Education by providing inspections and examinations ; if, in fact, it limits its function to giving a school such a certificate as will enable a parent to feel reasonably certain that he is getting the return that he expects

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for his school fees, the State cannot be called upon to pay the school fees.

If the State even goes one step further, and prescribes certain forms of school to which alone it will grant certificates, the parent has no claim to have his school fees wholly or partially remitted ; he is still at liberty to send his children to an uncertificated school.

If, on the other hand, the State pays part of the school fees, the State has a right to make education at State-supported schools a condition of admission to the service of the State, or to any professions, and even employments, in which it is felt that the national welfare is likely to suffer by the employment of inadequately trained men.

When the State, for instance, subsidises a College of Science, the State has not only a right, but is in all prudence bound to insist upon such entrance examinations, such previous training on the part of persons wishing to enjoy the benefits of that subsidy, as to ensure that the subsidy will not be wasted.

It is not a little strange, that whereas we have been for a very long period alive to the advantages of residence at a University, and have made residence a necessary preliminary to taking a degree, we have not similarly insisted upon residence at a school. We have, it is true, made attendance a necessary preliminary to earning a grant in elementary schools or County Council Scholarships ; but we do not require a boy who is to enter the Army to bring a cer-

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tificate of having regularly attended a public school for three or four years ; and this in spite of the fact that the outdoor life of a public school is admitted to supply much that is valuable in the training of an officer. In fact, of the two forms of residence, attendance at school is really more important than residence at a University ; it comes at a time of life when the assistance of teachers is absolutely necessary, whereas by the time a young man goes to the University he should be capable of working by himself. As a matter of fact, residence at a University does not give much to a man who has spent six years at a good public school ; its value is greatest for those who have not enjoyed this previous training. Such men fix a very high value upon the life of the University ; just as the educated German, who has generally been brought up at home and at a day school, keeps all his sentiment for his student-life.

An unwillingness to prescribe attendance at particular schools as a necessary preliminary to the examinations for the public services and professions is partly due to a habit that we have got into of looking at schools as commercial institutions in competition with one another ; it would not be fair to set some schools apart, give them an advantage over others. This amounts to saying that the State should leave the schools unorganized ; but as we have seen, the State already interferes considerably by establishing a bonus upon Science and Art ; and

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what the nation requires, and the individual parent requires in no less a degree, is a distinct pronouncement from the perpetual parent as to the value of certain forms of education.

There is no reason at all why schools should not be licensed and scheduled; why schools fully equipped with playgrounds, as well as teachers, should not be stated to be fit and proper places of education for boys from thirteen to sixteen years of age, who wish to enter certain branches of the public service, provided they submit themselves to periodical inspection. Private proprietors of schools, by ranging themselves under the same organization, should be able to secure the same privileges.

To make passing an examination the sole certificate of education is absurd; we all know how little an examination can really test. Attendance at school is the first point to secure; the only value of the examination is to show that the school is doing its work properly.

In towns this mark of approbation given to efficient schools, whether conducted by private proprietors or by the Trustees to an endowment, would do much towards raising the deplorably low ideals which are held by our commercial classes with reference to education.

A man will pay an adequate fee for the education of his child in a particular school if attendance at that school, *ipso facto*, gives the child certain advantages. The only kind of advantage we have yet

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thought of has been the remission of fees to the parent.

The line of demarcation between schools is suggested by the fact that a boy who proposes to enter certain professions, and undertakes certain forms of employment, must leave school at sixteen ; for others a longer training is required, and boys stay on at school till eighteen or nineteen. This fact is already recognised by the School Examination Board of the Universities. All that is additionally required is to insist on three years' school attendance as a preliminary to the sixteen-year-old examination ; schools without adequate playgrounds being put in a schedule by themselves, and not included in the places of education qualifying for the Army, Indian Civil Service, and other employments, in which activity of body, habits of mutual co-operation, and a knowledge of organization, are no less necessary than a well-trained mind. Localities which are so well able to afford Technical Colleges and Colleges of Science, and can find apparently inexhaustible funds for bricks and mortar, might possibly be induced to provide suitable playgrounds.

Again, it would be no worse economy, than that which the State at present practises, to revert to an older form of endowment : in order to secure efficient teachers for local schools the State might find the salaries of a head master and second master, provided the locality found suitable playgrounds and buildings. There is no financial difficulty ; the money that would

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be required is at present being squandered on a system demoralising to parents, humiliating to teachers, and of the smallest possible advantage to the children.

Money is further wasted at the present moment upon inspections and examinations, which would be better spent on teaching. Instead of schools which are wanted, places of advanced learning are built which are not wanted, and which then proceed to teach subjects which should have been learned at school, because pupils are not to be found who have been properly taught. It is not as generally known as it should be that the vaunted higher grade schools turn out boys of sixteen less well taught and less teachable than boys of thirteen who are admitted to the public schools ; and this too in their favourite subject, Mathematics. This is only natural, for the public school boys have received a degree of individual attention which is impossible in the higher grade schools.

Specialists in Mathematics occur in higher grade schools as they do elsewhere. It has been mentioned on a previous occasion that Mathematics are a subject by themselves, and the special mathematical faculty is a thing apart. Single instances will not disprove the rule ; meanwhile the language standard of such schools is pitiful.

This leads us to the consideration of Subjects ; their relative value and place are of first importance in mapping out the Debateable Land.

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IV

THE solution of the question of establishing a satisfactory school course for boys who leave school at sixteen depends in the first place upon the educational value of Modern languages, upon the educational value of Mathematics, upon the educational value of Science ; or to look at the same thing from another point of view, how do we answer the question as to what subjects are necessarily preliminary to further teaching? The question of what is desirable to be learned is of secondary importance, for everything is desirable to be learned, or nothing.

Surely no one will be found to dispute the statement, that the accurate use of spoken and written languages and conversance with mathematical processes are the essential preliminaries, the ground over which every one must travel who wishes eventually to think correctly, to acquire organized information, and to be able to impart his information to others, or otherwise make it profitable, in the widest sense of this word, to himself.

This point once conceded, it follows that the largest portion of a school course will be occupied by languages and mathematics. The next question is,

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by what languages? Fifty years ago the answer would have been by Latin and Greek ; at the present time a claim would be made for French and German also. There is, however, a certain unwillingness on the part of educational experts in England to accept this claim. They do not find in French and German sufficient training power ; but have they ever really tested the training power of French and German? We may concede that Latin is the best educational instrument for English boys, without refusing to French and German a considerable capacity for being used in the same way.

The reason why experienced classical teachers are apt to be contemptuous of French and German is because those languages are most commonly taught from the wrong point of view ; they are not looked upon as educational instruments at all, but simply as practically useful for persons whom business or pleasure takes to the Continent. Being then taught superficially by processes analogous to the teaching of parrots, these languages naturally produce very little evidence of mental training in the pupil ; even for conversational purposes the pupil's grip of them is but weak, and they are soon forgotten.

If, on the other hand, they are taught soundly from the beginning, they not only show very good results as educational instruments, but the practical end of using them for conversational purposes is secured in the most reasonable and most effective manner.

People who do not seriously consider these things

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are so numerous, and speak so confidently on the subject, that a short technical description of the only sound way of teaching a modern language, let us say French, is indispensable to our arguments.

The first step is to master the verbs, and the principles of their formation; for this is the feature in which English differs from other languages: it has few inflections; they have many. In French the system of verb inflection is more complete than in English. This step is easier, and helps to other languages, if we recognise the fact that there are not four regular conjugations in French, and countless irregular ones. There are two conjugations, a weak and a strong, as there are in English, in Italian, in Spanish, in German, and all languages kindred to these. There are only seven really irregular French verbs in common use. Recognition of this fact renders it easy to interest a small boy at once in pulling verbs to pieces, or building up verbs; by adding terminations to stems, or the converse process. In this way he quickly learns to recognise a verb, to assign it to its proper tense and mood, and has become conversant with a process helpful to him when he learns another language. Three months of this work, combined with simple exercises involving the use of the pronouns, make him ready to begin translation from French to English; and here we at once have plenty of literature suited to his time of life. In the process of learning to translate from French to English, our small boy also learns how to pro-

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nounce French by reading it aloud, and hearing it read aloud ; and as soon as he begins to write his translation down, he begins to grapple with the difficulties of his own language. When translation has become tolerably easy,—and by a judicious selection of books, and careful use of easy exercises based upon translation, it becomes so in a surprisingly short space of time,—we can begin to think of translation from English to French on a more elaborate scale. The first stage is retranslation from the pupil's own written work back into the original French. Of this an advanced standard is reached, when a lesson having been construed, the teacher reads out the English translation, and the boys write down the French as he proceeds. The last stage is the translation of classical English into French, involving sound analysis of English, and an extended reading of French authors. A boy who has been through this course can all but talk French ; a month in France puts him at his ease in a French conversation. He has a full vocabulary, which he can always amplify by reading books or newspapers. This is a power which he will never entirely lose ; whereas the parrot-taught vocabulary disappears as rapidly as it is acquired.

The time required would be six lessons a week for the first year ; eight to ten for the second ; four, supplemented by one of school reading, for the third.

This may be taken as a sound, general rule for the teaching of languages. After the preliminary stages the lessons must for a time be numerous ;

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there then comes a time when they can be very much reduced, and if it is thought desirable, in view of pressure from other subjects, merely to keep up the language after the third year, two lessons a week are sufficient. These lessons can be made historical, or even scientific. Classical boys, for instance, will find plenty of useful matter in the books of Gaston Boissier, while the French physicists are said to excel in lucidity of statement and orderly presentment of their subject.

Against this method of teaching we have set up what is called "Oral Teaching of Modern Languages." Oral teaching, like Froebel, is one of the fads; the phrase sounds well. Let us examine the process. Its superior merit is supposed to consist in making a language at once living to children: they learn to converse. Do they? Ideas and words have alike to be supplied for them by their teacher; that is not conversation. Even in dealing with one child conversation on the part of a grown-up person has a tendency to become a monologue; and with even so small a class as ten children, speaking their own language, it is very quickly reduced to the repetition of a few phrases, which are as a rule suggested by the bell wether of the flock—some smarter boy, who has acquired the formula. The larger the class the greater the difficulty. The advocates of oral teaching are largely influenced by recollections of the kind of work which can be done by a clever governess, who lives all day with two or three children, and

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who therefore has plenty of topics in common with them ; but even then the work is not permanent, unless her oral teaching is supplemented, as it most commonly is, by book work.

Oral teaching of large classes, when very skilfully conducted, may apparently give a quick result in the way of speaking. The same time spent in sound teaching from books as a preparation for oral teaching gives results less showy to begin with, but more permanent in their effects. English schools at present are not in the habit of giving their modern language teaching a sufficient number of hours ; four hours a week, for instance, given to French over four years will not do anything like the work which can be done in three years, or even two, with eight hours a week. Again, when once the pupil has had a good soaking in one language, its hours can be reduced to make room for another.

A common English practice is to send a boy to a school where modern languages are starved, till he is about sixteen, and then send him for a year to the Continent. He goes unprepared for further teaching, and, in the majority of cases, learns very little.

Again, the place of the foreign teacher of languages in an English school is not at the beginning, but at the end of the course. There are already a large number of young Englishmen who, after leaving Oxford or Cambridge, or during the long vacations, go abroad to qualify themselves for teaching modern languages ; they seldom meet with the encourage-

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ment that they deserve. Every large school should have at least one Frenchman and one German on its staff; but the foreigner will do better work by reading and conversing with the masters than by teaching the small boys.

Practically modern language teaching in England must be confined at school to French and German. It is one of the wayward pranks of destiny which has made Italian and Spanish less useful for conversational purposes; otherwise, from the literary standpoint, it would be difficult to make out a good case for French and German against the languages of Dante and Ariosto, of Cervantes and Calderon.

A boy who has been scientifically taught French and German will, however, not find any serious difficulty in learning other Romance and Teutonic languages; a boy who has been only orally taught is very little nearer acquiring another and kindred language.

It is, of course, obvious that oral teaching at once eliminates the literary side of the training, and leaves no room for that very important feature in learning a language; viz., that by a sound process we also learn our own.

Ultimately the demand for oral teaching, and many other things of the same kind, is based not upon a thoughtful consideration of the question at issue, but upon a prejudice against methods of teaching which involve application on the part of the pupil. Nothing was ever yet soundly learned with-

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out trouble on the part of the learner. Everybody admits this in theory ; but in practice, anybody who declares that he has discovered a way of teaching without trouble is listened to, and is allowed to try reckless experiments. When a good foundation in the structure and vocabulary of a language has been laid by means of books, oral teaching in a modern language can follow, the point at which it can be applied with most advantage depending partly upon the dexterity of the teacher, partly upon the docility of the pupil ; but alone it is valueless. English itself cannot be, and is not, learned by English boys solely through oral teaching ; the vocabulary of ordinary life is so limited, the habit of talking thoughtfully so rare, the range of ideas and information of the average Englishman so narrow, that without books children would never learn English. It has been repeatedly observed that boys who go from board schools to grammar schools are apt to read without the smallest comprehension of what they are reading ; they see the words as a compositor sees them. There is no time to do anything more for them owing to the conditions under which they are taught, and the home gives no help. Even boys who have been given much better opportunities of learning are frequently content to read without understanding, and have to be stimulated in various ways in order that they may ask the necessary questions. Translating into and from another language does the greater part of this work automatically.

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The group of subjects called Mathematics forms the other indispensable factor in sound training. Here again we are confronted by the fact, that there are possibilities of uninstrusive teaching, countless dodges by which boys may be taught to save themselves the trouble of thinking, and their teacher the severe task of grappling with the difficulty of getting them to think; and we have the further fact that teaching by means of dodges, or rule-of-thumb teaching, produces illusive results, which win the approbation both of the pupil and of the person who pays for his instruction.

If in the classical schools Mathematics were till a recent period starved, there is a considerable danger at the present time that they will occupy too large a space in the curriculum of other than classical schools; they already do so in the examinations for Woolwich and Sandhurst. This is not altogether designed; it arises from the fact that no subject is so easily examined as Mathematics.

The same amount of work given to Mathematics and languages produces a standard of proficiency in Mathematics relatively more easily tested by examination, more certain to win marks; consequently, when a choice of subjects is allowed to candidates in a competitive examination, they are advised by teachers, who are aware of this fact, to select the mathematical subjects. An increase of the number of competitive examinations, unless due foresight is exercised, will infallibly lead to an undue preponderance of Mathematics.

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The case against Mathematics is not often clearly stated ; it is simply this. A mathematical lesson, however soundly given, is a mathematical lesson, and nothing else ; its relation to other intellectual training is the relation of drill to games ; it does not inform outside the range of Mathematics, and it cannot deal with any facts that are not capable of being stated in mathematical language. A man might be a superb mathematician, and be entirely ignorant of history, of social economy, of the laws which govern the life of plants and animals ; such a man might walk through a world devoid of associations, peopled at best with statistics. Windsor Castle would suggest nothing to his mind but a vast outlay upon dressed stones ; Holyrood would be a singularly uncomfortable dwelling in a damp situation ; Rome herself would be a town remarkably like Bayswater, but better provided with drinking fountains.

On the other hand, it is impossible to teach a language otherwise than orally, without constant reference to manners and customs. The explanations of the meanings of words involve history. Even such a well-worn subject as Cæsar's account of his invasion of Britain opens the way to a discussion of methods of measuring time ; a comparison between our conception of the form of the earth and that held by the ancients ; an inquiry into the distribution of metals and trees ; of Roman methods of fighting compared with our own ; of the social conditions of the Britons ; of the qualities of the Roman army ; of

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the secret of Cæsar's power over this army ; and the list is not yet exhausted. In the same way, even the simplest French book requires for its perfect comprehension descriptions of ways of living on the Continent different from our own. A man might be a well-informed man without being able to cast up his accounts ; but he might be able to square the circle, without being able to grasp the force of any single illustration in Mr. Chamberlain's *Defence of Patriotism*, or in a leading article in the *Times*.

A third part of the curriculum can be given to Mathematics without danger, but even then care must be taken not to allow Mathematics to earn marks out of due proportion.

When the age for specialization has come, Mathematics may naturally be made an exclusive subject, as literature may be. But we are at present dealing with the age before specialization.

To discuss the position of Science is more difficult, because so few people take the trouble to ascertain the meaning of the term. If by Science is meant simply correct information about a vast number of phenomena, the field is already covered in great part by literature ; if, however, it means a training in the processes by which accurate information about those phenomena has been already obtained, and will continue to be obtained, part of the ground is covered by Mathematics. The residuum is experimental science. As the scientific study of language supplies us with one part of the indispensable machinery of correct

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thinking, and Mathematics supply us with another part, experimental science teaches us how to observe, and deduce the correct inferences from our observations ; but a course of experimental science, to be effective, demands a foundation of Languages and Mathematics.

The difference between Science as information and Science as a means of training may be illustrated from Dr. Miall's series of experiments, which prove that water has a skin. The mere statement, "water has a skin," is no more scientific in its effect upon the person to whom it is addressed than the statement that Shakespeare lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

If, however, Dr. Miall conducts, in the presence of a class of boys, a series of experiments with corks, and wires, and soap bubbles, which tend to prove that water has a skin ; if at each step in his experiments he states why he applies a particular test ; if he shows that the results of his experiments cannot be arrived at except on the assumption that water has a skin, nor explained in any other way, he has given a valuable demonstration of scientific method. Supposing this demonstration to be given to boys whose minds are otherwise untrained, and who are not skilled in the use of their own language, examination of these boys even orally will suggest that the lesson has been wasted ; and, again, boys trained in the use of language may be so untrained in the habit of observing that they will be unable to state in orderly

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sequence what they have seen Dr. Miall do, and why he did it.

A further stage in the same lesson has been arrived at when the boys have been set to conduct the experiments for themselves ; they will probably fail in many cases to produce the same results, and the reasons for their failure, supplied by the teacher, are almost as important a part of the lesson as the original lecture.

Again, a boy who has followed these experiments, and satisfied himself that water has a skin, may be led to inquire further into the qualities and properties of other things which he deals with every day. He had swum in water, he had drunk water, he had possibly washed himself with soap and water, and yet it had never occurred to him that water was provided with a skin ; perhaps by inquiry he might discover equally unsuspected facts about other things in daily use. Such lessons stimulate curiosity. The danger which besets them is that the boy of indolent mind cares more for the result than the process by which it is arrived at ; if he can come away from the lesson saying that water has a skin, he is perfectly satisfied that he knows something ; he repeats the information at home, his mother flatly contradicts him, and his father grumbles about useless knowledge.

Lessons such as these can be used with advantage at a fairly early period in a boy's career, but they cannot form the whole or a very considerable part of his training at that period. Simple experimental

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lessons in mechanics, in light, heat, sound, hydrostatics, gravitation, and so forth, can be devised by skilful teachers, which are of great value so long as the experiments are conducted by means of apparatus which the boys can make for themselves ; and all boys should go through a course of this training.

The later stages of science belong to the period of specialization.

After such a course a boy can use scientific books with some profit ; if he begins with the books he is no better trained than if he had read any other books.

Properly taught science is an expensive subject, not because it absolutely requires the costly apparatus which it is now the fashion to lavish upon it at schools, but because, like languages, it demands close individual attention.

There is a fairly general opinion that scientific subjects—chemistry, for instance—are necessarily more interesting to boys than languages or mathematics. This is not the case. An indolent boy prefers sitting in a room where somebody is performing chemical experiments, and talking about them, to being forced to think for himself by means of an exercise or arithmetical problem, but the real grind of chemistry is just as distasteful to him as the grind of mathematics or Latin. Even in the advanced stages, unless students misrepresent themselves, there is quite as much larking, quite as little attention to the business really in hand in a chemical laboratory, as elsewhere. The temper of a professor or fellow-

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student is generally a more interesting subject of investigation than other acids.

Allusion has before been made to the subject of drawing ; this should unquestionably be taught all through the secondary stage of education, not with a view to the fine arts, nor to the sciences, nor to the trades, but simply because a man who cannot draw is in most cases a man who has never been taught to see. Two lessons a week are amply sufficient for drawing till specialization is arrived at, but they should never be omitted. The least educational forms of drawing are those in which instruments are employed, such as geometrical drawing and machine drawing ; they are well left till they are wanted for practical purposes ; freehand drawing, again, may be overdone. The standard to be arrived at is that the pupil should be able to draw a correct outline of any object under any conditions of light, see and represent the shadows.

In criticizing these suggestions, or any other suggestions for curriculum, the reader should bear in mind the fact that there are many things desirable to be known, and many ways of acquiring information about them, which are not applicable to class teaching ; consequently the value of different methods of teaching in schools depends upon the extent to which they are applicable to a class. It is possible to methodise too much ; it is possible for the teacher to be too skilful. The danger which besets the class teacher is the danger of discovering methods, which

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save the pupils the trouble of thinking for themselves, and which produce temporary rather than permanent results. Much of what is called the art of teaching is of this nature. Many of the board school masters have brought it to perfection, with the result that their pupils leave them not only untaught, but unteachable. For this the teachers are not wholly responsible; the monstrous wickedness of the education code, at the outset, with its payment by results and grants on inspection, forced the teachers to devise and adopt uneducational methods of teaching.

If the State is to organize secondary schools, this form of error must not be repeated, and again care must be taken not to sacrifice efficiency to cheapness. Languages taught in too large classes are as valueless as any other subjects taught under the wrong conditions. Mechanical grammar, rote learning of accidence, attract the teacher, when his class is too large. In these, at any rate, definite results can be obtained; grammar becomes the master, and ceases to be the servant. This danger was already seen and understood in the days of Queen Elizabeth by Roger Ascham. Small classes are necessarily more expensive than large ones; more teachers are required. Few people who clamour for individual teaching are ready to pay for it, or to admit that it must be paid for.

Lastly, should there be alternative subjects? Should a boy be allowed to make his second language, for instance, either Latin or German?

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Alternative subjects are bad in principle ; they cause much waste of power in organization. Still this particular alternative is possible, provided due care is taken to protect the organization of the school. The choice should be made once for all, and the parent should be provided with a full statement of what the choice involves. Where alternative subjects are allowed without due precautions, boys prevail upon their parents to allow them to drop one or the other in order to avoid the rigours of some particular master, or to get an easy time with some teacher who has the reputation of being slack. Modern languages are apt to be popular when taught by a foreigner who cannot maintain discipline. When the age for specialization has come, alternative subjects are of course necessary.

Boys can be allowed to substitute German for Latin if they do not propose to specialize in classics, or if they wish to leave school at fifteen ; if, however, they mean to become professional men or public servants, the Latin should be insisted on.

The teaching of modern languages by foreigners is a mistake. Pronunciation, though not unimportant, is of less importance than it is supposed to be ; nor are Englishmen so incapable of acquiring even a French accent within certain limits as is generally assumed. A man teaching his own language to foreign children is at a very great disadvantage. Apart from the difficulty of discipline, which is felt by English teachers in foreign schools just as much

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as by foreigners in English schools, such a man is unprepared for his pupils' difficulties. Those who doubt this should try the experiment for themselves, and try teaching a Frenchman English.

The place of music has not been considered. All young children should be taught to sing by ear ; to sing from notes is a second stage. The number of boys who have no ear is not very large, and the defect is cured to a considerable extent by the habit of hearing music. An ear for music, like an ear for speaking, can be developed, except in a very few cases. Such singing is properly an elementary subject. Instrumental music is inapplicable in its early stages to class teaching, pianoforte playing absolutely so ; it cannot be included in a school course till a considerable proficiency has been acquired. When sufficient progress has been made, a school orchestra is helpful ; but, as all boys cannot be expected to take part in it, the music must remain outside the curriculum. Parents who are really in earnest about music can do a good deal in their own homes.

And History and Geography — what of them ? History, as a special subject, belongs to the stage of specialization. Meanwhile, preparation for this stage is carried on by attention to the subject matter of the books read in language lessons ; by the illustrations given of those lessons by teachers who are not cramped for want of time ; by allowing for a couple of lessons a week outside the languages and mathematics, in which the teacher may read what he

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pleases with his class, and in the way which seems most profitable to him. Geography is in one aspect a branch of science, in another a branch of history. In the elementary stages children have to be taught how to read a map ; later on they can be taught to realize the physical conditions of the countries in which are laid the scenes of the stories that they are reading. Now that good photographs are so easy to be procured, stimulating lessons, calculated to give associations to names of places, are easily managed by any well-informed teacher. All such lessons are, however, rather of the nature of a relief to the severer lessons by which the mind is trained. They are instructional rather than educational ; they supplement the other work ; they cannot replace it. The practice of giving boys so many pages of a geographical or historical text-book to read, and then questioning them upon what they have read, is apt to be singularly barren of permanent results. At the same time it is a necessary step towards teaching them how to acquire information for themselves. It should not be done with young boys.

A healthy curiosity about history and geography is best insured by finding well-informed teachers. All language lessons, after the elementary struggles with grammar are over, are vehicles by which the well-stored mind of the teacher is brought into contact with the mind of the pupil. When teachers are looked upon as machines for producing a definite knowledge of a language or anything else within

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carefully prescribed limits, when a French lesson is nothing but French, and a Latin lesson nothing but Latin, the stimulating effect of the teacher's own learning is removed. In a large school there is room for both kinds of teaching. A boy moving from one form to another comes under men of different types of mind. It is the province of a skilful head master to place his men in those parts of a school in which their peculiar qualities are most serviceable.

Men should teach at least two sets of subjects. One of the worst evils of unorganized schools is the habit of placing different subjects exclusively in the hands of special teachers. Boys should not be allowed to feel that any subject is an outlying department. In the old classical schools Mathematics and modern languages suffered severely in the estimation of the boys by being taught by a different set of masters.

Except in the higher departments of a school where the curriculum is already specialized, men who only teach one subject are a source of weakness. There is no real difficulty in finding men capable of teaching both Classics and Mathematics, or modern languages and Classics, or Mathematics and Science ; and there would be less difficulty still, were there a satisfactory provision at the Universities for enabling young men who intend to become teachers to earn double certificates. This is, however, rather a large question, and may be deferred till we consider the relations of the Universities and the schools. In con-

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nection with this another point requires consideration ; viz., the relations between a local secondary school and a local college of science or University. For instance, should all specialized work be reserved for the place of advanced education ?

Intellectually many boys become fit for the specialized instruction of a University before they are morally fit. For this reason special work must always be done in schools, as well as general work. In the public schools as much as the last three years of a boy's school life are not unfrequently given to special work. Even in a school which contemplated sixteen as the upward limit of age, there would be boys ready to begin special work before the time of departure was reached. On the other hand, such boys could not wisely be relieved of the stricter discipline of a school ; while, on the other hand, any school which did not allow exceptionally gifted boys to pass as rapidly as their ability permitted through the preliminary stages, would create idleness and discourage healthy emulation. When grants were given to teachers according to the number of boys who qualified at each successive standard, there was little inducement to promote clever boys ; it was a safer speculation to keep them to the standard fixed for their age than to let them pass on to a higher standard and possibly fail.

One further point in school organization is worth mentioning, because it is commonly overlooked by people who regard a school simply as a knowledge

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shop. A boy's lessons should not be distributed between too many teachers; there should always be one teacher who is in possession of a satisfactory conspectus of the work of each boy. When a boy's time is divided between several masters, he is apt to be overloaded with preparation or the reverse; and as all masters are not equally exacting, the lessons that are done for indulgent men are apt to be inadequately attended to. This, again, indicates that it is desirable that the mass of teachers should be men of more than one subject.

Practically the suggestions here made have been already adopted by many grammar schools. All that requires to be done is to stamp with the approbation of the State a general course of study; to deliver the head masters of schools from perpetual interference on the part of uninstructed persons, who are unable to see a school course as a whole, and who, with the best intentions in the world, defeat their own objects. If we are to have examination rather than inspection, we must get rid of the differences between examining bodies, unite them, or establish clear distinctions between them; but a far better course would be to substitute inspection for examination—to leave the schools free to teach as they please within certain definite limits, and keep a check on them by inspecting their own examinations. This question belongs to the application of State control.

It is reported of a French Minister of Education that he was in the habit of boasting that he knew

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what any individual boy in France was learning at any particular hour. He was not a wise man ; he had constituted himself unknowingly and rashly the universal Head Master of France. His example is apparently the ideal of the Department of Science and Art. Even if an omniscient and all-wise universal head master could be found, he would be a demoralizing influence : teachers would become machines ; it would be unnecessary for them to think about their work, to study the individual boy that responsibility having been taken once for all off their shoulders.

Again, Ministers of Education are neither permanent nor immortal, and in England we might have a change of head master at least every seven years. As it is, the Elementary Education Code is frequently revised, not only in those larger things in which the public is occasionally interested, but in the detailed arrangements for teaching, sometimes advantageously, sometimes vexatiously.

It would be a fatal error to repeat in the secondary schools the policy of the framers of the Elementary Education Act : to make the inspector the obvious and supreme authority. The moral influence of a teacher over his pupils is most seriously damaged when they feel that his teaching is not spontaneous but dictated by somebody else. And there is a still more serious evil. Teachers are fallible like the rest of mankind, and among their numbers there must be men of weak moral fibre, as well as men of sturdy

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self-respect. Inspectors are also fallible, and it is possible to conceive an unholy alliance between teacher and pupils to deceive the inspector. This is the more likely to happen in proportion as independent action is rendered impossible to the teacher ; make him a machine, deprive him of all pride in his work, tell him he is a thief who requires to be constantly watched, and you cannot be surprised that he accepts your view of him, and acts upon it in ways not intended by the framers of the Education Acts.

Some statisticians tell us that juvenile crime has increased since the Education Acts were passed. Why should it not? What is there moralizing in the work of a teacher, who is not only dependent upon the approval of an inspector, but is publicly exhibited in that capacity? His pupils are at once told as plainly as it is possible to make the statement : " This man does not believe in learning ; he would not take any trouble about you, unless he were compelled by the gentleman who comes round once a year."

One of the most valuable influences which a school can bring to bear upon boys is the teacher's faith in honest work. Even under the Mundella code a teacher was tempted to encourage dishonest work, and that code was less stringent upon the teacher than its predecessor. Those who are most conversant with the working man know that a considerable part of his time and ingenuity is spent in evading work. Nor are his children less ingenious

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at school. If a school is so organized that the teacher is interested in letting dishonest work pass, if his own interest in work is even suspected of being a thing imposed upon him by somebody else, his moral influence in the direction of forming industrious habits is paralysed.

The inspection of the work of a school should be kept in the background ; it should not be obtruded upon the notice of the pupils.

Again, great latitude as to methods can whole-somely be allowed to existing schools. If Eton, for instance, should prefer to teach Latin by means of Latin verses, and Clifton by means of Latin prose, each school should be allowed to offer its own work, and be judged by the results of the methods of its predilection. An inspector who has seen the work of a school can report that particular subjects are not up to the level attainable elsewhere ; an inquiry into the conditions elsewhere prevailing can be instituted ; a revision of hours and proportionate time given to subjects might ensue ; in some cases additions to the staff might be recommended, and so forth ; but to make the routine of all schools absolutely the same might easily destroy the advantages of individual character in schools.

Supposing the State to insist upon attendance at a registered school for a certain period as a necessary preliminary to competing for the Army examinations, it would be right that the State should take pains to ascertain that the work of that school was

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up to the required standard, and that in extreme cases, after due notice, a school obviously below the mark should be struck off the list of registered schools ; but all the preliminary stages of inspection, suggestion, and warning should be strictly private, and the inspector's remarks addressed privately to the staff and governors only ; otherwise both boys and their parents would be demoralized, and a school would not be given a fair chance of mending its ways. At present the only method of comparing the work of schools is that adopted by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, viz., that of comparing the relative number of Successes ; in other words, the work of the specialists only ; whereas a school may be doing excellent work for its rank and file without achieving Successes ; indeed, it is not improbable that the general level of work in most schools would be considerably improved were there less attention paid to prize-winning.

This leads us naturally to the consideration of Competitive Examinations.

IX

Scholarships and Competitive Examinations

ON October 8th, 1883, Dr. Pridgin Teale read a paper before the Social Science Association at Huddersfield, which was afterwards published in pamphlet form, and entitled "Hurry, Worry, and Money." The learned Doctor assailed competitive examinations from two points of view. From the medical point of view he protested against the excessive stress of competitive examinations upon young lads who, as in the case of Indian civil servants, would afterwards have to encounter the further strain of work in a tropical climate; from the moral point of view he further declared that to make an immediate gain in money the principal if not sole reason for self-improvement was to degrade rather than elevate the conception of education. He deplored the policy which in the elementary schools had tempted the teacher to value his work solely in proportion to the grants that he earned.

So far as the injurious effects of competition in relation to health were concerned, Dr. Teale was able

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to refer to the evidence of experts as to the special weaknesses set up by worry rather than work ; and stated that where no immediate and obvious collapse was the consequence of too much pressure, there might still be, and often was, a general lowering of vitality, whose effect would be to depress its victim, and render him less capable than he would otherwise have been, while he would apparently be in the enjoyment of good health ; in fact, the mischief caused by undue strain at the critical period of life, early manhood, would escape observation for the time, and only become apparent in middle life, when it would in all probability be assigned to other than the real causes. Dr. Teale admitted that statistics might be brought to disprove his argument, but pleaded that for many reasons complete statistics could not be found. For instance, the unsuccessful candidates would be affected as much as, if not more than, the prize-winners, and their subsequent life history would be more difficult to get at even than that of Indian civil servants.

The doctor might have added to his argument the fact, that though in all competitive examinations there will invariably be a small minority of candidates so liberally gifted by nature that the work does not involve undue effort, and whose health will therefore be unaffected, there will be a still larger number to whom the work presents serious difficulties, and who are only brought up to the mark by unhealthy pressure. In fact, the most brilliant candidates, whose

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subsequent careers would be the most easily traced, would be precisely those men in whom the injurious effects of over-pressure would be reduced to a minimum, or would be absent, and statistics based upon their life history would be misleading.

Towards the end of his paper Dr. Teale threw out a suggestion, that if a certain standard of competence were once secured, the final selection of candidates might be made by casting lots.

For this suggestion there is even more to be said than appears on the surface; and were we as deeply convinced of the merits of a public school education with its games and social life as we profess to be, were we quite sure that we want our soldiers and sailors and Indian civil servants to be competent men all round rather than men developed only in one form of energy, intellectual, we should hail Dr. Teale's proposal as an easy and simple solution of a real difficulty. Schools which placed themselves under State control, and which satisfied the State demands in all their departments, in the playing fields no less than the class rooms, might be allowed in proportion to the number of boys attending them at the age of sixteen to ballot for so many vacancies at Sandhurst or Woolwich or the Indian Civil Service, the subsequent special training to continue as it is now. This crude suggestion would require certain safeguards, but there is no insuperable difficulty in providing them; we should be rid once for all of the evils of *undue* competition, and a very valuable type

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of man, who is at present excluded from the public services, would again have a chance of fighting for his country ; while the schools would be compelled to give due attention to the rank and file, or at any rate no longer be tempted to fix their exclusive attention upon possible prize-winners, whose successes could be advertised.

Were it possible to examine candidates for public appointments in all the departments of human activity, to assign marks for skill, agility, administrative and moral power, as well as for answers to questions in history, science, and the rest, the method of selection by competition would be delivered from one at least of its serious defects, perhaps its most serious defect, for a competition testing health and strength, as well as learning, would discourage any system of preparation which tended to damage health. Such a form of competition is, however, not practically possible.

The question remains, Why have we made our examinations for the public services competitive rather than qualificative? Why did we assume that there was absolutely no other method?

For this, in all probability, the competitive examinations already in existence, whereby scholarships were awarded at schools and the universities, were responsible. Government appointments were regarded as prizes to be won ; and a system of distributing prizes which was believed to work well under one set of conditions was transferred to another set

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of conditions whose similarity was only superficial. It is one thing to offer prizes within the limits of a learned profession with the object of raising the standard of learning inside that profession, and of enabling needy students to continue their course of training ; it is quite another thing to declare that no qualities are needed in a Government official or soldier or sailor except such as can be tested by competitive examination, and that at a comparatively early age. Again, there is all the difference in the world between saying that nobody shall be an Indian Civil Servant who cannot bring evidence of having had the opportunity of being well trained morally, physically, intellectually, and saying anybody may be an Indian Civil Servant who has the particular form of intellect which enables him to win more marks than anybody else in an examination.

The not unfrequent change in the regulations for admission to the Indian Civil Service indicate that the system has not been found to work satisfactorily, and it never will work satisfactorily till we have the common sense to demand previous education at schools approved by the State as a necessary preliminary to competition. A further step might be to adopt Dr. Teale's suggestion, and to get rid of the competition altogether.

Competitive examinations for scholarships have affected our habits of mind in reference to education in numerous other ways ; they have to some extent demoralized our schoolmasters and University dons,

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they have demoralized our middle classes even more, and especially that section of our middle classes from whom better things might have been anticipated—the professional men with small incomes. The weakness of our local schools is in a great measure due to them, and no less is the apathy with reference to the course of education given in such schools which is shown by the same classes. The need for efficient, relatively inexpensive, local schools is not felt by parents who expect their sons to be able to earn their own education by winning entrance scholarships at the public schools, after being taken at a preparatory school on reduced terms on the strength of intellectual or even athletic ability, by which the school may be advertised.

It is also largely due to the scholarship system that an eleemosynary attitude is adopted towards education by all classes in England. Our imaginations are engrossed by the “deserving poor”; we cannot see beyond them, or outside them; we forget that they are a small minority even of the poor, and that the sound training of the fairly well-to-do is at least as important to the State as the relief of amiable destitution. It is to this mental attitude that is due the fact that the public money is recklessly wasted on helping people that do not want help, and in giving that help in a form most expensive to the State, and least calculated to bring about the ends for which alone the State is justified in spending money upon education.

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A more detailed inquiry into the system of scholarships is necessary, if we are to understand the real bearings of this rather difficult subject, and clear our minds, once for all, of the vicious propensities of my Lady Bountiful.

In discussing mediæval school endowments in a previous chapter no detailed reference was made to exhibitions or other provisions for maintaining boys at boarding schools or students at the Universities ; it is now necessary to look a little more closely into this question. There were such endowments. An exhibition was most commonly a fund for enabling students to keep themselves at the University ; it was less commonly a fund for maintaining boys at school because the ample supply of local grammar schools rendered such a provision unnecessary. The endowed boarding school on a large scale, such as Winchester or Eton, was a late development ; and a provision in the statutes of Eton requiring the scholars to take minor orders as soon as they were of an age to do so, indicates that here at least the advisers of Henry VI. were thinking of creating a supply of well-educated clergy.

The exhibitions to be held at the Universities were invariably local ; they were for the benefit of boys educated in local schools ; and as Founder's kin were in most cases to be given a preference, it was probably not contemplated that the exhibitioners would be poor in our sense of the word. Part of the same system was the provision of houses or halls, which

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afterwards became colleges, at the Universities for the benefit of students from particular localities. Oxford still has Lincoln College, Exeter College, Worcester College, Hertford College ; she had Gloucester College, St. Albans, Salisbury, Canterbury, and others. The majority of the small local colleges lost their identity when combined into big foundations such as Christ Church at Oxford and Trinity at Cambridge. At this latter University the local colleges have disappeared in name ; but the number of exhibitions that are even now reserved for students from particular local schools are sufficient evidence of local connections.

The motive for the foundation of such exhibitions seems to have been twofold. In the first place, when bullion was the only currency, cash was a scarce commodity, and a person whom we should now consider wealthy, rather than the reverse, would have to think more than twice as to the possibility of finding his son the ready money necessary for his University expenses ; in the second place, mediæval life was based on a form of socialism, the State was regarded as a whole organization whose corporate life demanded separate well-developed members. From the conception of a well-ordered State a learned class was not excluded ; the Universities represented that learned class, and it was thought patriotic to ensure a supply of well-trained students for the Universities. The master of St. John's College, Cambridge, preaching before Edward VI. in 1550, and protesting against

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the spoliation of Sedbergh School under the Chantries Act, stated that the school used to send eight scholars yearly to Cambridge. He thinks of the loss to the University consequent on the suppression of the school ; the depletion of the Universities was, in his eyes, a national calamity likely to follow upon the destruction of schools.

There seem even to have been exhibitions not attached to the Universities, which were of the nature of endowments of research, for Mr. Leach found at least one instance of an exhibitor of mature age resident in the country, not a chantry priest ; and the case was not stigmatized as an abuse at the time.

Many exhibitions were charges on chantries, and so were lost to us by the same process as the schools.

Just as the grammar school endowments were designed for the benefit of the middle classes, or rather to enable the middle classes to become learned, so exhibitions were founded, not to enable the sons of agricultural labourers to become priests and lawyers, but to give learning—a comparatively unremunerative occupation attended with inconvenient expenses—a fair chance of finding votaries. The educational ladder was not a mediæval conception ; quite the reverse. One of the grievances of the unfortunate men, who took part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, was the position of Thomas Cromwell, who, though he may not have been the son of a blacksmith in our sense of the word, belonged to a class from which the advisers of the Crown were not commonly selected

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In our own time no Opposition ever thought of objecting to the presence of the late Mr. W. H. Smith in the Cabinet ; it would have seemed quite reasonable to do so in the reign of Henry VIII. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Church catechism was drawn up, which, in summarising and explaining the moral obligations involved in the Ten Commandments, expressly states that in our duty to our neighbours is included "to do my duty in that state of life to which it has pleased God to call me." Much that appears to us servile in the attitude of middle class men towards the nobility, even at a later period, involved no real loss of self-respect ; the forms of deference were understood on the one side as well as the other ; and freedom of social intercourse between different classes was aided rather than restricted by the well-defined barrier separating class from class. There was no danger that the servants, who ate at the same table with their masters below the salt, would become inconveniently familiar. Whether we have gained or lost by the change of social conditions is not of importance to the present inquiry, but it is necessary to emphasize the fact that mediæval endowments were not charitable in the sense that they were designed to enable what we now call poor men to rise from one class to another. So far as education was concerned, the bottom of the ladder rested on an elevation ; it started on the first floor, so to speak, not on the basement. Even the provision that the Foundation boys at Eton should be "poor and needy"

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does not involve what the use of the same words should involve now. It is possible to be "needy" in relation to the expenses of such an education as was given at Eton without being an artisan. Indeed, the scholars were bound to swear, on attaining their fifteenth year, individually that they did not possess more than five marks per annum. The head master's stipend was only thirty marks. In reference to the same Foundation, it is worth while to point out that, though the Foundation scholars were boarders, the selection of the scholars was still on the local basis; preference was to be given to boys from the parishes in which the College held property in the first place, and from the counties of Buckingham and Cambridge in the second.

It is worth while to insist upon these points, because one of the commonest grievances urged by local busybodies against the administration of the funds of a grammar school, or the distribution of scholarships, is that the rich are enjoying what was designed for the poor; while the modern method of providing scholarships from the funds raised by County Councils is quite contrary to the most cherished prejudices of our forefathers.

To sum up what has been said. The mediæval exhibition was an endowment less of a poor person than of learning; when its benefits were restricted to "poor" persons, the barrier was drawn against those whom we should now consider very rich; just as in the Free Grammar School at Durham it was expressly

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provided that the rich should pay the usual fees. The object was that the nation should benefit by the refinement of its middle-class families. Men of the type of Bishop Latimer were the outcome of the system ; his account of his father's house and means sounds to our ears as though it involved destitution, because of the changed value of money and habits of life. The advisers of Henry VI. thought five marks—£3 6s. 8d.—a year sufficient to keep a boy ; that is to say, if we accept the view of those authorities, who tell us to multiply by twenty to bring the mediæval values up to our own, a boy who could find as much as £66 13s. 4d. for his school expenses was still poor enough to enjoy the benefits of the Foundation at Eton.

The statutes of the Song School at Wells, also a boarding school, in which minute provisions are made as to the boys' manners, especially in the matter of eating, which Prince Bismarck has stated to be the true measure of refinement, further indicate that these endowments were not for the benefit of the abjectly poor, not for Jack Cade and his friends.

Exhibitions were awarded, as were the scholarships at Eton, to qualified candidates ; competition was not anticipated. As they were locally distributed, abuse of the trust was rendered difficult, so long as the local school was vigorous. The means of the parents of boys attending any particular school were well known in the locality. When, however, the school decayed, and there were practically no scholars, the local

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trustee was apt to use the trust fund for his own advantage. In this way also some exhibitions have disappeared.

After the reforms at Eton, which rendered a collegier's life as comfortable as that of an oppidan, the character of the examination admitting candidates to the Foundation changed. There were more candidates than vacancies, and the examination became competitive rather than qualificative. The same thing happened in other places, and in a very short time entrance scholarships, awarded on the results of a competitive examination, became a feature of the majority of our schools. The objections to the system, and they are many, were not foreseen. Some of these objections may be classified as strictly educational, capable of being met by a careful re-organization of examinations. Others are social or financial, and more difficult to deal with.

It was not, for instance, foreseen that competition for scholarships would lead to a premature specialization of studies, that the teachers of boys who had a turn for languages would be driven to neglect mathematics, and *vice versâ*. It was not foreseen that no other certificate of efficiency being attainable, the proprietors of preparatory schools would be driven to make the winning of scholarships the first point of their teaching, and that the training of the average boy, who shows no sign of special proficiencies, would therefore meet with less than due consideration; that this would affect the attitude of teachers towards the

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whole curriculum ; that in course of time a whole race of specialists would grow up, who would in their own turn become teachers, and would continue the mischievous system. Still less was it foreseen that there would be a competition among the schools for clever boys, and that unendowed schools would be obliged to offer entrance scholarships in order to secure their fair share of able young boys, whose successes at a later period would enhance the reputation of the school.

Some of these evils can be remedied by prescribing a form of entrance scholarship examination binding upon all schools, in which marks should be assigned to the several subjects in a fixed proportion, the subjects themselves to be those learned by all boys. At present, for instance, though French is taught, and fairly well taught, in many preparatory schools, and though French papers are set in many of the examinations for entrance scholarships, a boy who is a mathematical specialist can get a scholarship without French, so can a specially trained classic ; similarly a classical boy can do without mathematics. This ought not to be ; and things would have been put on a sounder footing years ago, were it not for the competition between the public schools. To maintain their reputations against one another, they must win successes at the Universities, and the simplest way to do that, is to buy boys of thirteen ready specialized.

Another unforeseen effect of entrance scholarships

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has been to damage local schools. Able boys, who could perfectly well afford to pay the fees of a local school, are drawn off by the superior attractions of a well-known boarding school, where even with an entrance scholarship their education will be as expensive as if they had remained day scholars at a local school, if not more so ; which school loses not only the boys, but the interest that their parents would otherwise take in its efficiency. Thus a system, which in its origin was designed to strengthen the cause of learning locally, has, under the modern conditions, helped to destroy, or at any rate seriously impair, the usefulness of local endowments. The prestige of the local schools has been impaired, and the once respected name of grammar school has become a term of abuse.

The mischief goes further still. Boys who have been removed from home and educated at a public school take little interest in the schools of their own localities. When shall we again have a local school founded or enriched in gratitude for benefits there received? Worse still, the eyes of men who have been brought up on the scholarship system are blinded to the possibilities of any other system ; and many of us have learned to think of education solely as a means of winning prizes, forgetting that the prize-winners are necessarily a minority, and that self-improvement would continue to be a duty, even if it were not rewarded with prizes. Again, men who have been thus educated, and who believe that had

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there been no scholarships they would have received no education, are apt to over-rate the advantages of the system, to assume a wide-spread want of means in relation to the cost of education, an unbounded supply of able boys who are kept from distinction by lack of pence.

It is difficult in any other way to account for the general approval, which our insane system of paying school fees instead of providing well-staffed schools seems to meet with, not only among the persons who think they benefit by it, but among persons presumably enlightened and disinterested.

The mediæval form of scholarship founded by a private person for the benefit of children in his own class, resident in a particular locality, was under the then existing circumstances not an unwholesome institution ; it is quite another matter when the State begins to give scholarships wholesale, as it does now through County Council grants, etc., or to pay children's railway fares instead of paying the teachers. How does the State gain—it loses—by withdrawing clever boys from the employments of their parents, and only leaving the dullards to carry on work, which is honourable enough, though it is not conducted in offices but in work-shops? What again has the artisan gained by a distribution of public money, which tempts parents, not artisans, to send their children through the elementary board schools in order that they may be educated at the expense of the county at a grammar school whose fees they have

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hitherto been in the habit of paying and can still perfectly well afford to pay?

This leads us to another aspect of the same question. The Bishop of Hereford, speaking at the Church Congress in 1897, suggests that some means ought to be discovered of assigning the entrance scholarships at public schools only to boys who were really in need of them. He assumed, and he assumed correctly, that boys compete for scholarships whose parents have no real claim for assistance of this kind. There are schools which, in announcing their scholarship examinations, state that a parent is at liberty to refuse the emoluments while retaining the honour; it would be interesting to know what proportion of parents have availed themselves of this license.

One serious difficulty in drawing up any regulations in reference to this abuse of scholarships would be that a man may be rich relatively to other classes of the community, but poor relatively to his own class. The income of a colonel in the army, for instance, is in mere figures vastly larger than that of a superintendent of police; but the colonel cannot get his children educated in his own rank of life except at an expenditure relatively to his income far higher than that which would be incurred by the policeman. Had our local schools been properly maintained, the evil would have been less pressing; soldiers being largely quartered in towns where there have been and should be good schools. Again, the majority of

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professional men are underpaid with reference to the education of their children; clergymen, who by the nature of their profession dwell largely in out-of-the-way districts, more especially so. The case of Indian officials, who are compelled to send their children home on account of the climate and the unwholesome influence of native servants, is even worse.

If the community does not gain by tempting the sons of artisans to become clerks, it certainly loses when its professional men are unable to educate their children in the same intellectual and social habits in which they have themselves been brought up. If a statement of poverty, such as that prescribed by Henry VI. for the Foundation boys at Eton, were enforced in the case of boys competing for entrance scholarships at the public schools, the standard adopted would have to vary, not only with the income of the parent, but with the number of his family also. We have seen that the pious king fixed his limit at a point which implied relative well-being on the part of the parent. This would not square with the views of our friends of the educational ladder persuasion, who are completely blind to the value of a long tradition of refined lives, and who are firmly convinced that all that is necessary to make a man fit to be Lord Chancellor is that he should be capable of passing examinations.

Where endowments for entrance scholarships exist, we may wisely do our best to render them less mischievous, and there is still room for the local

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benefactions of private persons ; but we shall have entered on a very dangerous path, which may lead us into hideous sloughs and nasty pitfalls, if we allow the State, through any of its tax-collecting agencies, to distribute funds wholesale in order to relieve the pockets of parents. Even the artisan is not so poor as we are apt to think he is ; strike pay, 15s. a week, may be taken to be the living wage, and there are very large numbers of workmen who earn 30s. To provide for the existence of a well-qualified body of teachers, to see that they are satisfactorily distributed throughout the community, is to work for the advancement of learning and all that learning brings with it when imparted by sound teachers. To pay school fees wholesale is to pauperize the nation, and to weaken the parental obligation,—to destroy, in fact, the family. No nation has ever yet permanently thriven in which parents disavowed their obligations to their children. The parental relation may be in some aspects demoralizing, but in others it is the foundation upon which civilized life rests.

X

The Clerical Domination

THE year 1662 is distinguished by two events : it is the year in which the Royal Society was founded for the advancement of learning ; it is also the year in which that Act of Uniformity was passed which handed over all the existing educational endowments to the State Church. Under that Act unfeigned assent to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer was required of every beneficed minister, every Fellow of a college, and even every schoolmaster. That Act was not repealed, so far as the Universities were concerned, till 1872. For 210 years the organization of education in England, with the administration of educational endowments, was entirely in the hands of men who could give unfeigned assent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Its immediate effect was to exclude the 2,000 clergymen, including the eminent Baxter, who refused to conform to it, from any share in the existing provisions for education, as also such members of the congregations of these clergymen as

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were faithful to their ministers. Its ulterior effect was to withdraw schools and universities alike from the stimulating influence of many of the active men, who pushed English industries and commerce during the middle decades of this century ; and a yet further effect has been that the teaching profession in England has never become an independent, recognised profession ; it has been overshadowed by the Church. During that long period of clerical domination Englishmen forgot that a schoolmaster was not necessarily a person who could give his unfeigned assent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer ; and though there are very few endowed schools, not even Eton and Winchester, whose head masters may not be laymen according to the statutes, though the vast majority of assistant masters are laymen, though many preparatory schools are managed by a lay principal, governing bodies and trustees in England still with very rare exceptions refuse to accept lay candidates for the head mastership to which they appoint.

There are people who do not see beyond this, who think that the almost exclusive appointment of clerical head masters is merely a grievance of ambitious assistant masters ; to whom it does not occur that the prestige of the whole profession of teaching is necessarily lowered by refusing it public recognition, unless it is combined with another profession, for the head master is the public representative of his school.

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How would it look if we were to provide that no man should be a judge who was not also a clergyman? There was a time when the line of demarcation between the clerical and legal professions was not considered to be any wider than that between the teaching and clerical professions of to-day; when the Lord Chancellor of England was more often a Bishop than not; when much of the civil department of law was in the hands of ecclesiastical courts. As law is so closely connected with morality, surely it would be safer to insist that our judges should take orders.

Or, again, nobody is shocked at seeing a major-general at the head of the vast educational organization called the Science and Art Department. How would it look if the head master of Eton were made commander-in-chief? He has many of the necessary qualifications of a good soldier, and used thirty years ago to be an officer in the Eton College Volunteer Corps. His military knowledge is probably as sound as the educational knowledge of an Officer who has taught in a Sunday school.

And again from another point of view. Surely it must be rather discouraging to clergymen who have worked hard for years at the elaborate organization of large parishes, who have acquired experience in all the details of the clerical profession, to see bishoprics conferred upon head masters of schools, who have never done a stroke of parish work in their lives.

In fact, both professions lose by the confusion; but of the two the teaching profession loses most.

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There comes a time of life—happily not very early in life, not so early as is commonly assumed—when a teacher loses his fitness for class teaching. At that time he would be most valuable as an organizer. Having learned his experience by active teaching, he might still be useful as an examiner or inspector. The natural sequel to several years of teaching would be an appointment on one of the Government boards which control teaching. This point was completely overlooked in 1870. Instead of taking experienced teachers—and there was already a good supply of lay teachers—from the public schools and grammar schools, we summarily appointed young men, who had just taken their degrees, and had no knowledge of the difficulties and possibilities of a teacher.

Why this neglect of so obvious a fact? Simply because we had never regarded teaching as an independent profession requiring special knowledge.

Again, so long as the assistant masters of schools were men who had taken orders, the pension question was not a pressing one; when the time came for retirement, a living was bought or conferred. The livings belonging to Eton College and similar corporations provided retiring pensions for the assistant masters. This source of pensions is no longer open to the teaching profession; but they are still paid as if it were.

Under the Elementary Education Act of 1870 it was expressly provided that no teacher in a board school should take orders; but the question of pensions is only thus late in the day being considered,

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with the consequences that there are board school teachers in middle life, who now see that they would have done better to enter the police service twenty years ago. A superintendent of police is better paid, and has a higher pension, than the head master of any but the largest board schools.

Had the question of pensions been agitated by the public schools and grammar schools before the Elementary Education Act was passed, it would not have been overlooked at that time ; but it had not been agitated ; it had never been a pressing question, because the teaching profession could look to another profession for its pensions.

The Act of Uniformity was disastrous in other respects.

The long sleep of the Church was also the long sleep of the schools. The schoolmasters under the Act of Uniformity were Churchmen in the first place, schoolmasters in the second.

No ecclesiastical body, no sect, not even the Society of Friends, can be trusted with the exclusive management of education ; the interests of the sect always prevail in the long run over the interests of learning. There may be no malice prepense, but the sheer instinct of self-preservation tempts the holders of distinct and definite religious opinion to lay more stress on imparting and maintaining those opinions than on training the intellect ; even where there is not undue active energy in this direction, there is considerable passive resistance.

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Why, for instance, did composition in the dead languages take a position so exceptional, and indeed in some respects so unwholesome, in English schools? It was the natural result of placing those schools under the management of persons who, by proclaiming their unfeigned assent to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, started their professional career by establishing limitations to the activity of their own minds. The æsthetic rather than the historical side of literature appeals to men who thus limit the sphere of inquiry. When men of restless intellect could not become schoolmasters without swallowing the Thirty-nine Articles, the emergence of such men in the teaching profession was a rare phenomenon; the profession proved attractive to men of refined rather than vigorous temperament, taking them at their best to men like Keble, rather than to men like Kingsley.

Over a long series of years this selection of elegant scholars rather than vigorous thinkers for the teaching work of the universities as well as the schools could only have one effect: an intellectual quietism prevailed; an absence of curiosity as to what was going on in the world outside. Disproportionate time was spent over Latin verses, because no man's faith was ever wrecked on Latin verse; or for the matter of that on pure mathematics.

On the Universities the effect was so disastrous as to cause Adam Smith to protest against endowments; he should have protested against educational endow-

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ments in the hands of ecclesiastics. The degradation of Oxford and Cambridge alike at the early part of this century is hardly conceivable to the men of to-day. When single colleges at Cambridge were enjoying revenues from endowment alone larger than the whole income of the University of Berlin, even so recently as 1870, Cambridge was studying the science and scholarship of Germany, but Germany was not studying Cambridge. Since then an enormous stride has been made. Relieved of the clerical incubus, both Universities sprang to their work; the science school of Cambridge has produced work which is respected even at Berlin. Both Universities have enlarged their medical schools; work which was previously hampered by undue preponderance of clergymen among the active resident organizers now enjoying a fair chance of being properly developed. We may not altogether respect the University Extension Movement, it is possible to see room for improvement in the schools' examinations conducted by both Universities, it is permissible to anticipate changes in the attitude of both universities towards Greek and other vexed questions, we may venture to hope that both may find more satisfactory certificates for men who intend to teach than they do at present; none the less we must admit an enormous increase of activity since 1872, and we are bound to confess that during those long years when the Act of Uniformity was in force, comparatively nothing was done. Newton, the

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shining light of Cambridge, belongs to a time when the Act of Uniformity was in its infancy.

So far as the public schools are concerned, if it were really necessary in the interests of religion and morality that they should be staffed principally by men who have taken orders, we must be in a very bad way at present. The proportion of laymen to clergymen has been completely reversed in the last fifty years, and with what result? So far from being less earnest, less religious, our schools are more so. The proportion of public school men who take orders relatively to the numbers who attend the public schools may be numerically smaller, but what of the quality? Is it not a matter of common observation that nowadays it is difficult to get such young men to take curacies in country parishes? They look for hard work in the large towns.

But should not a head master be able to preach to his boys? Most certainly; and many laymen preach exceedingly effective sermons. A few words from a form master arising out of some event in the daily life of his form are far more effective than a year of sermons; and a head master can always find opportunities of addressing his boys outside the pulpit of the chapel. There are many subjects on which it is necessary to address boys which are unfitted for the chapel pulpit and the restrictions imposed by a sermon. Do we not rather overrate the importance of the pulpit? When we were boys, did we habitually listen to sermons?

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In fact, if we are to be consistent, we must return to the Act of Uniformity ; we must insist that all assistant masters take orders, and refuse to license any school whose head master has not declared his assent to some religious formula.

We have, however, happily left all that behind ; one thing alone remains, to admit the complete independence of the teaching profession of any other, whether the Army or the Church.

The Act of Uniformity was passed to secure the episcopal organization of the State Church ; it was directed principally against the Presbyterians, partly against the Quakers and Independents. We have learned that questions of Church organization are of less importance than they seemed to be in 1662 ; that the moral well-being of society does not hang upon them. Then why not accept the fact, and be done once for all with the consequences of what has since proved to be mischievous legislation ?

XI

Some Weaknesses of Local Control

THE question of the control of Secondary Schools by local authority is commonly argued from only one point of view, that of the ratepayer; and, again, as if the ratepayer had only one interest in the matter—to keep down the rates; but the ratepayer is also a parent, and another set of interests is involved. As a parent he wishes his children to be well taught. Good teaching is expensive; the ratepayer as parent will increase the expensiveness of the schools which he controls, as ratepayer pure and simple he will keep down expenses. Local control means a governing body subject to election; how will the voter decide between candidates who offer him no school fees, good schools, and high rates, and the candidates who pledge themselves simply to keep down the rates.

Nor is this all. The periodical elections will give an opportunity of discussing the internal organization of the schools involved. We have an illustration ready to hand. At the present moment (autumn,

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1897) the triennial election for the School Board of Stockton is in progress. Hear the local newspaper on the subject:—

“One of the great features of the election at Stockton is the question of the Higher Grade School. There is, first of all, the question of admission into the school. The Church candidates are all in favour of no class selection into the school, and the reception of each child for educational merit alone. The Unsectarian majority on the present Board profess that every child who passes the third standard will be admitted without further question; and they have carefully omitted from their addresses the very important fact that every applicant must, in addition, be submitted to a test by the head master.

“The head master’s test is very strongly objected to as opening the door to selection on other grounds than the cleverness of the child; and it is well known that several members of the Unsectarian majority have already stated that the school must be kept a ‘respectable’ school—in other words, that the original plan on which the late Mr. Bone proposed to establish the school should be carried out, and that it should be made, as far as possible, a school of a higher social character than the ordinary Board School. However fair this might have been, when a considerable part of the cost was to be borne by parents in the shape of school fees, it is clearly a great injustice that in a free school a certain selected

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number of so-called better-class children should get preferential treatment as compared with other children in free Board Schools.

"That the treatment is preferential may be seen by the figures which the Chairman of the Finance Committee published in his election address. He states that while the cost per head in the average Board School is £1 16s. per head to the rates, the cost in the Higher Grade School is £4 per head ; or, taking school management alone, the cost in the average Stockton Board School is 13s. per child, and in the Higher Grade School £2 7s. 7d. The question which the working men of Stockton are considering is, Shall we pay our share of the rates and let three times as much be paid for teaching the children of a so-called higher class than for our children? All the Church candidates are in favour of fair play to working men's children in rate-supported schools, and the Unsectarian candidates are committed to the present plan of admission by selection rather than by merit alone.

"Another grievance of the working men is that through the head master's test not only are some fourth standard children refused, but fifth, sixth, and seventh standard children are put down a standard, and so lose a year. This is one of the reasons why the school has become unpopular and has filled so slowly. Parents look upon it as a waste for a child to spend a second year upon a standard already passed, and in some cases it puts the child back a

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year from beginning work and earning money. Where parents are poor, and an extra year's schooling can only be got by an effort, it is disappointing to find the child traversing just the same ground as in the last school and really making no progress, and Mr. Meggeson thinks the excellent examination results obtained are partly due to this cause.

“The Church candidates are all educationalists, and pledged to watch over the interests of the working men's children, and it is to be hoped they will be returned well up on the list to-day.”

There could not have been found a more convincing demonstration of opinions advanced in an earlier paper in this series, to the effect that the higher grade school system charges upon the payers of rates and taxes the education of children whose parents could afford to pay school fees unaided. There cannot be many parents who can afford to keep their children at school after the age of thirteen and not pay £4 a year in school fees. That, however, is beside the present question; the point especially to be noticed is this :—

The Higher Grade School at Stockton obtains excellent examination results. These results, Mr. Meggeson, a member of the School Board, thinks are partly due to the fact that children on admission to the Higher Grade School are submitted to a test by the head master, and rearranged, not according to the mechanical standard of the elementary school which they have previously attended, but according to

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their real proficiency ; in other words, children who arrive fit to do more advanced work are set to do it, children who are unfit are set to do less advanced work according to their proficiency ; in fact, the school from the educational point of view, is organized on a sound basis. The electors, however, are appealed to in order that they may upset this organization. The candidates are guilty of the abominable wickedness—the phrase is too weak rather than too strong—of suggesting that other than educational motives are at work, that class interests are involved. The word “preferential” is used in such a way as to induce the electors to believe that the arrangement is not simply a piece of wholesome educational organization, but a deliberate system of defrauding the poor man of his rights ; and we blush to observe that the Church candidates lend themselves to this perverse representation of facts. It is not stated in so many words, that any child has been put back simply because his father is a working man, or advanced because his father was a grocer ; such a statement would have required proof ; but the inference is suggested.

To digress for a moment from the question with which we are immediately concerned—the value of local control.

When the higher grade system was devised, a large number of benevolent persons were in favour of such a system, because of the opportunities which it could give to the working man. How does he

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regard it? The moment the Higher Grade School begins to do its work efficiently, he protests; the moment competition between the children is allowed fairly free play, he conceives that he has a grievance, or his advisers, those who want his vote, suggest a grievance to him.

The fact that the artisan parent of a clever boy has a good opportunity of getting him well educated goes for nothing. The working man is quite willing that there should be a higher grade school, but he stipulates, or his advisers stipulate for him, that it should not be allowed to do sound work. He wishes the advanced classes to be encumbered with backward children, to the detriment not only of the children really capable of doing advanced work, but of the backward children themselves.

This leads us back to the subject with which we started. "Such a question could not arise," some one will say, "with reference to secondary schools: the children will be drawn from a superior class." On the contrary, the question of promotions—that is to say, the question of efficiency—is one of the commonest difficulties which the head masters of grammar schools have to encounter. Where the governors are local residents, appeals are not unfrequently made to them in private to compel the head master of the grammar school to promote boys who would be injured by promotion, or who do not deserve to be promoted. Every reason for preference on the part of the school authorities is suggested, except the real

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reason—merit. Even where direct interference with reference to that particular question is not resorted to, the wounded self-esteem of the parent finds opportunities for revenge. The number of boys who win prizes and deserve promotion is necessarily smaller than that of those who do not ; hence a school is apt to be unpopular with the majority of the resident parents. In boarding schools this sentiment is not so pronounced, because the parents of the disappointed are not compelled to witness the daily satisfaction of the parents of the successful. If local secondary schools are put under the control of bodies subject to periodical re-election, such as the present School Boards, or even Town Councils—a claim has not only been made, but pressed, for both—the internal organization of the schools, even the appointments of the teachers, will be at the mercy of vote-catching candidates.

Let us take the question of subjects, for instance. What a splendid grievance the teaching of Latin might be made, or the non-teaching of bookkeeping ! Subjects which were found difficult by individual boys would be condemned as useless. Boys are in the habit of appealing to their parents to be exempted from subjects which involve exertion.

The more complex the school, the higher the standard of its aims ; the more vigorous its teachers the greater the number of grievances which could be run against it by ignorant or unprincipled candidates for seats on its governing body. It is not invariably those teachers whose ideas of their duty to their pupils

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are the most drastic, that win the approbation of parents. The balance of probability is in favour of the reverse being the case.

A strenuous teacher is apt to punish, to insist on punctuality, to keep up attendance, to refuse extra holidays, to reprove idlers. None of these things are pleasant when one's own convenience or one's own children are the sufferers, however excellent they may be in the case of other people's children.

Head masters who have worked under the control of a local governing body, even when it is not subject to popular election, have reason to thank their good fortune when such a body does not prove a chronic impediment to the efficiency of the school. Trustees are apt to be recklessly extravagant in some things, equally niggardly in others. Their pet form of economy is to refuse money for teachers' salaries; their pet form of extravagance to build unnecessary scientific lecture rooms and laboratories. They will haggle over five pounds for blackboards, and readily grant twenty for a lantern. Nowadays science is becoming inseparably associated in the popular mind with a dark room and a white sheet.

If any of them happen to be parents of boys attending the school, the teaching is apt to be judged exclusively by the proficiencies of those particular boys, the discipline by the fanciful tales which they take home to their mothers.

Evils such as these would be increased tenfold were the Local Educational Authorities subject to

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popular election, and especially to popular election at such short intervals as three years. By the time the men elected had learned their work, supposing any of them to be teachable, they would have to cast about for some popular cry, some grievance, by which to secure their re-election.

It is proposed by some politicians to make the county the administrative area for secondary education, and to treat county boroughs as if they were counties ; that is to say, to place the control of the secondary schools in county boroughs in the hands of the Town Councils. It is precisely in such towns that a good system of secondary schools is possible and necessary. Have Town Councils done anything so far to justify their being entrusted with this particular work ?

Would it be absolutely wise, for instance, to entrust a school to the management of the Town Council of Maidstone ?

Who are the persons who form the majority of the Town Councils in our populous towns ? It is a matter of public notoriety that they are precisely not the people who represent the widest enlightenment, or even the best business capacity of the town which they represent. We have not a few towns whose names are associated with the names of great industrial firms ; these names are usually absent from the Town Councils. Men who are managing large businesses are obliged frequently to be away from home ; and even where this is not the case, they have

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not the time to manage their own business and that of the public. There is, further, the degrading process of being elected. The new and universal system of bribery by promises keeps men who respect themselves from the platforms. Precisely those men whose sense of public duty is high are the men who shrink from making use of a popular cry as a step up to public office. The consequence is that the administration of provincial towns falls into the hands of men who have a direct interest in being on the Town Council—builders, contractors, and men whose relatives want contracts.

The reports of the proceedings of these bodies are not unfrequently such as to suggest that the civilizing influences of education were wanting in the early life of their members. They call one another bad and even silly names ; they proceed to threats of personal violence ; and sometimes attempt to carry their threats into effect in the sacred precincts of the council room.

In consequence, they are seldom respected by any class of the community which they represent, and are tolerated as an inevitable evil, whose power for mischief is happily small, or is thought to be so, until it is discovered that in the interests of economy they will cheerfully run the risk of poisoning their fellow-citizens wholesale. To such people as these it is proposed to entrust the administration of schools, the responsibility of selecting head masters, and of distributing funds.

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Under such management, the position of a body of teachers is all but untenable, or only tenable by men who are devoid of the qualities most valuable in a teacher.

Where a grammar school has long been under the management of a Corporation, that body has sometimes learned that the best thing that it can do for its school is to let it alone ; but it will not be allowed to let it alone, if the example of the Stockton School Board election is to spread. If the cry of class interests is to be commonly brought to bear upon educational questions, it will be used by unscrupulous men, and by some well-meaning but ill-informed men, no longer in School Board elections, but in elections to the Town Council. Stringent limitations of the powers of the local authority, enforced by the Central Education Department, will alone save our children from the consequences of the ignorance and caprice of the persons who are theoretically entrusted with the management of the local school. As such limitations are apt to be too complex, to fetter the teaching body, as well as the governing body, to unnecessarily increase expenditure upon red tape, it would be better to create a controlling body, which would be so constituted as to require the minimum of direction.

Schools require a governing body to ensure their continuity, as a reserve force to be called into action in periods of great emergency, not to do the work of the head master. The governors should be like the onion

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in the salad, "lurk unseen but animate the whole." Even in the department of finance they may be over-active. To cut down the expenses of the staff, for instance, in a school, means to reduce the number of the teachers, or to attract in the long run less effective men, or even to force the teachers to supplement their salaries by devoting part of their energy to other work ; but it is a policy which invariably recommends itself to a governing body. It may be sound policy to reduce the clerical expenses in a large industrial concern ; it sometimes proves to be so ; but the responsibilities of a clerk and the responsibilities of a teacher are totally different ; men of business cannot get out of the habit of thinking of assistant-masters as clerks.

All voluntary boards of management, whether publicly elected or otherwise appointed, are particularly subject to the weakness of giving way to the man whose interest in public business is largely due to the opportunities that it gives him of being mean on a large scale. Do we not all know the man who is great on black lead and matches, who shakes his head over the account for drugs and soap at the hospital ? who thinks we could do with one nurse less, and that five pounds might be knocked off the salary of the house surgeon ? He is singularly fertile in expedients for the reduction of school expenses ; and even when he does not carry his colleagues with him, he wastes a great deal of

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valuable time, and renders Council meetings a terror to head masters.

The clerical candidates won the School Board election at Stockton. Mr. Meggeson, who had supported the policy of the Higher Grade School, was rejected. If their party are consistent, they will now proceed to spoil the work of the head master of the Higher Grade School. The working man will gain nothing, the progress of some boys will be checked, and the teaching staff have been compelled to realize for how little their devotion to their work counts with the people whose children they teach.

We must steer clear, in providing for the organization of secondary schools, between the mischiefs of popular election on the one hand and too elaborate central administration on the other. Would it not be as well to put some little confidence in the teachers?

As a matter of fact, local control has governed secondary education in all day schools up to the present moment. Trustees have been local men in the case of endowed schools ; proprietary schools are controlled by the local parent. The result is that we have no organized secondary education. To separate local control of finance from local control of the internal organization of the local schools would be exceedingly difficult. A demand for funds would give an opportunity for discussing the curriculum or administration ; and unless it were expressly stipulated that no parent could be a member of the

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governing body of the local secondary school, the worst weakness of local governing bodies, the tendency of the individuals composing it to see the interests of the school largely through the supposed interests of their own children, would not be removed. In the case of the elementary schools this difficulty is not at present felt. Parents of boys attending the board schools are not numerous on School Boards; they would probably be in the majority on the local board of the secondary school.

XII

Education and Class Distinctions

AFTER the abolition of serfdom, England was unique among civilized nations in being free from class distinctions. They survived in two forms only. There were, till the municipalities were reformed, boroughs in which a share in the municipal government was a birthright; otherwise, with one other exception, birth of itself as constituting an exclusive claim to political power has never been recognised by English law; we have never had, as France had, and Germany had, a caste of noble families exempted from direct taxation, alone eligible for certain employments under the Government, and from whom officers in the Army were exclusively drawn. For centuries the sole legal qualification demanded of Englishmen, who wished to be concerned in the government of their country, has been the holding of property in some form or another. The law, with the two exceptions above mentioned, has never asked an Englishman who his father was; it has asked him simply what were his possessions, what was his stake in the country.

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The other exception is the House of Lords. But even here England may be held rather to have laid a burden upon the heads of certain families, than to have given those families privileges. The members of the family of a peer, his children, grandchildren and the rest have no rights which are not shared by every Englishman. The very titles by which they are known are mere courtesy titles; they are amenable to the same tribunals as the poorest workman; they can claim no privilege of exemption from any of the obligations laid upon other citizens. Even the children of the Sovereign are commoners until the Crown exercises its power of conferring peerages on them, just as it can and does confer peerages upon brewers and other wealthy tradesmen.

Nevertheless, we continually hear the classes and the masses spoken of in England; and the class cry is one which is raised with confidence by unscrupulous politicians; that is to say, by men who think the safest way to induce their fellow-countrymen to place confidence in them is to make public profession of unstatesmanlike qualities. No wise and patriotic statesman calls into play the prejudices of class.

In connection with education there has long been a simmering of class prejudice. The subject is a difficult one to deal with, a very prickly pair of subjects, likely to wound the hand of him who touches it; but none the less it must be handled. For if on the one hand a sound educational policy is imperilled by the ambition of those who openly avow that they

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wish to break down distinctions of class, it is no less endangered by the blindness of those who do not see that as a matter of fact there are in England no class distinctions.

An Englishman's social position is determined by two factors, and two factors only—his wealth and his education. Some fortunate persons combine the two, some have one without the other; the absence of both is the only social disqualification under which an Englishman can suffer, and politically of the two only one is recognised by the law. A man can vote without being able to read or write, but he must be demonstrably in possession of a certain amount of property. In other words, our distinctions are social, not political; not recognised by the statute book, but voluntarily imposed by ourselves.

The education which determines the social position of an Englishman is not the education which is, by our slipshod methods of thinking and speaking, commonly understood by the term; it is not book learning, nor even an accurate knowledge of experimental science. The man who knows most is not the man who is most welcome in what a modern prophetess calls "Smart Society"; nor does it merely consist of the externals of good manners.

Good manners are the external expression of sound social qualities; of the habit of considering others, of the habit of respecting oneself. Such habits are largely inherited. They may be imposed and improved by discipline; they may be partially or totally

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destroyed by neglect. The appearance of good manners may be acquired by imitation, enforced by training. Then we have mere ceremony. The distinction is an important one. The thing that is valuable suffers in the public estimation when it is confused with a thing that is relatively valueless. A Norwegian or Swedish boy, in recognition of a service done to him—on receipt of a tip, for instance—makes an elaborate bow, shakes hands with his benefactor, and expresses his thanks. An English boy, who has simply said "Thank you," has shown equally good manners. The bow, the hand-shake, are a ceremony. But even the ceremony has some value; it demands an effort. Even so simple an act as taking off one's hat to a lady, instead of merely grinning or nodding by way of recognition, is a moralizing ceremony.

These are small things, but life is made up of small things, and it is in small things that the forces which hold society together most commonly find their outward expression.

There are those who exalt the rough diamond, forgetting that the value even of the diamond is increased by the process of cutting and polishing, and that the gem in the rough has not reached the limit of its possibilities.

Similarly there are those who are impatient of the restraints imposed by schools, in which intellectual training is supplemented by external training in manners, even when this is accompanied by a healthy moral stimulation, who see in such schools simply an

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attempt to impose class distinctions, to put the working man or the small tradesman, or even the rich tradesman, at a disadvantage compared with a class whose attributes and privileges are imagined rather than known.

To begin at the bottom or perhaps the top. Occasionally we see letters in the local newspapers, or read in the reports of School Board meetings, statements referring to the harsh and arbitrary conduct of teachers who have punished children for coming to school dirty. On such occasions some one is sure to champion the grievance: "Whether a boy is clean or dirty is no business of the teacher's; his business is to teach." The grievance is not looked at quite in this way by the parent, who is doing his or her best to bring up children in habits of cleanliness, upon whom the dirty habits of neighbours impose every day the necessity of a rigorous examination of the children when they return from school. Cleanliness is not merely a class distinction. We may as well give up education and everything connected with it, if we are going to discourage parents who take pains about the good habits of their children.

Or to take another illustration with which we are more immediately concerned. There is a very large class of persons in our country who are impatient of what they call "fashionable" schools; and it is easy enough to find reasons for laughing at, or being indignant with, ladies who select a school for their boys simply because it is "fashionable," or because some

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other lady, whose social position is respected, happens to send her boys there. To this question, as to all others, there are, however, two sides. A woman, who wishes her boys to be brought up in the society of boys whose manners are good, is paying tribute, unconsciously perhaps, to those influences which are over and above book-learning. The form in which she expresses her ambition may be inadequate and even vulgar, but the ambition is a sound one ; it is a recognition of the fact that wealth has its obligations. Democratical persons capable of reflection should rejoice, rather than the reverse, when the wealthy deliberately impose upon themselves expensive processes of educating their children.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling, in his *Captains Courageous*, has held up a horrible example of the results of the other way of dealing with children. He is not the only man who has suffered from the enormities of the American boy on board an Atlantic liner.

A feature of American life which has struck many observers, among others Mr. Paul Bourget, is the comparative neglect of the education of the sons of wealthy men. There are exceptions, but the rule is sufficiently well established to force itself upon the notice of Europeans who visit the United States. American girls are kept at school a long time, and in every way given opportunities of self-improvement equal, and even superior, to those enjoyed by their sisters in the Old World ; but the boys are sent to "commercial schools," instructed in the barest pos-

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sible proficiencies to fit them for a career of business, and set to work in offices at about the age when English boys are thinking of going to a public school. The consequence is, that not only is the young American a terror to his fellow-passengers on board ship, but that the American man of business is socially one of the least attractive of human animals. In spite of his abundant hospitality, he is a bore of the first water; he has no interest outside his business, no real amusements unconnected with display. His pile of dollars gives him no satisfaction beyond what he can derive from being the husband of some woman whose expensive entertainments are recorded in the *New York Herald*.

Indirect results of the same system are the characters borne by the American politician and Tammany Hall. Where are boys to learn that there is such a thing as public spirit, when they are removed from school as soon as they can read and write and do sums?

English "snobbishness"—that is to say, the prevalent desire to push into a social circle for which you are fitted by wealth alone, or the corresponding dread of associating with people who are looked down upon—has helped to preserve English refinement, and possibly English patriotism. An English boy may be sent to the right school for the wrong reason, but at any rate he is sent to school, and his moral and intellectual training are continued to manhood.

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Throughout the whole of English Society this force is at work. Among workmen there are most minute class distinctions. Artisans who will not pay school fees, because they value education for sound reasons, will do so that their children may not go to school with the sons of parents who live in some particular street, whose inhabitants are regarded, deservedly or otherwise, as low class.

To check this sentiment is impossible, and it may be turned to good account.

Upon what does the "tone" of a good public school depend? Entirely upon this, that teachers and boys alike in the large majority belong to families which have for generations been in the habit of continuing the education of their children to a comparatively late period of life. They are not necessarily more learned than other families, but they are better trained. Their members have not been set to think solely of self-interest from the age of fourteen or fifteen; they have been given time to observe life before practically engaging in its struggles. In the matter of making money, they would be knocked out of the field by the next American. But how about making a country? about maintaining a standard of private and public obligation, which holds society together?

The subjects which have hitherto formed the inner core, so to speak, of our public school training of our fashionable schools, of our grammar schools, and the methods by which those subjects have been taught, have been largely determined by the fact that pro-

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ficiency in them is only acquired by long training ; and that young men of high intellectual ambition and sound intellectual habits are attracted by them. In other words, the qualifications of a teacher in these schools demand time, and in some form or another they demand capital ; that is to say, that the teachers, though derived from families relatively poor, are still derived from families whose traditions are the same as those of the families of their pupils. They unconsciously maintain among their pupils, or impart to them, aptitude for refinement in the best sense of the word. In school, and out of school alike, their influence is directed to the maintenance of standards of conduct which are commonly found in societies relieved from the immediate pressure of money-getting. In this there is no arbitrary class distinction, no wilful setting up of lines and barriers designed to confine such refinement to a narrow circle ; on the contrary, every man who has sufficient money can send his son to Eton or Harrow, or any other fashionable school. Any local school which is willing to pay the proper price, or which is adequately endowed, can secure and should secure the same teachers.

But what of those who have little money ? This consideration weighs too heavily with kindly persons, who persist in regarding education simply as book-learning and something apart from home. There have been, and there are, peasant homes in which there is sound refinement ; and again, it does not weigh heavily enough. It weighs too heavily when

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attacks are made upon the schools attended by the sons of wealthy men, as being institutions which, in some vague way, defraud the poor man of his rights ; it does not weigh heavily enough upon people who fail to see that though education is not book learning, the moralizing influence of education largely depends upon the subjects taught and the way in which they are taught, for in these is involved the qualifications of the teacher.

To take one point at a time. No subjects, not even Latin and Greek, have a moralizing influence upon the pupil if they are taught by men whose ideal, both of learning and responsibility to their pupils, is limited to enabling them to pass some definite standard in an examination.

Again, no teacher who has the true teacher's ambition can find access to his pupils through purely mechanical subjects, taught in a mechanical way, for a definite and limited purpose.

When local parents insist that the local grammar school shall teach mechanical subjects to the exclusion of all others, or so hamper the school by low fees that non-mechanical subjects have to be taught in a mechanical way owing to over-large classes, they destroy whatever advantage the grammar school possesses over the board schools. There are parents in provincial towns who send their boys to grammar schools for social reasons ; they do not wish their boys to consort with boys who go to board schools. The "social reasons" in this case become worse than

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absurd, if such people try to have the advantage of exclusiveness without the real social distinction of improved training. And it is a fact, that numbers of people raise a cry against the "snobbishness" of local grammar schools who send their children to them for purely "snobbish" reasons; they like to feel that their children are at a superior school than the children of artisans; they do not like to submit to the demands and restraints which such a school imposes, if it is anything other than a sham.

This feeling is not confined to provincial towns. It is not improbable that if a poll were taken of the parents who send their sons to public schools on the question of curriculum, the most valuable subjects, the soundest methods, would be set aside for the farrago of the Education Code, South Kensington, and Technical Colleges. Among the destructive votes there would be those of a very large number of persons of inherited and trained refinement, who are ignorant of the value of their own qualities, and still more ignorant of the processes by which they have attained to them. Such people would have cheerfully joined the advisers of Edward VI. when the grammar schools were suppressed.

An educational system which admits the fact of an unequal distribution of wealth, and which recognises it by organizing schools in which the sons of wealthy men are trained at a cost in proportion to their wealth, is not a system which lays undue stress upon social distinctions. The State should do all that it

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can to tempt men who are relatively wealthy, to protract the period of education for their children, and to make that education efficient. It is impossible to devise a system based on these principles which will satisfy all idealists ; but it must always be sounder than a system which tends to pervert education and refuses to recognise established facts.

XIII

The Universities and the Schools

THE Universities—by which term for the present we propose to designate Oxford and Cambridge alone—have an intimate connection with the schools. By their examinations they prescribe what subjects shall be taught, and, to a considerable extent, the methods of teaching them. They are also the places in which teachers complete their education. They are not, however, the only bodies which examine schools, whether directly or indirectly. There are other Universities doing the same or similar work. There is the College of Preceptors, and there are the examinations for admission to the public services and professions. The relations between these various examining bodies require adjustment and organization. By their multiplicity and variety they promote confusion, they introduce unnecessary difficulties into the organization of all but the largest schools, and they leave us with indeterminate standards. There is, for instance, no means

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of gauging the relative values of schools which are examined by the College of Preceptors, and schools which are examined under the joint board of the Universities, which Universities have again their local examinations. Teachers may have information and possibly prejudices on the subject, but the one person who should be helped by these examinations, the parent, is completely in the dark. Probably the most useful work which can be done by an Educational Department for Secondary Schools is the organization of examinations. That once done, the status of any particular school will declare itself, so far as instruction is concerned, according to the examinations in which its pupils compete.

The position of Greek is determined by the regulations of the Universities. So long as a boy is required to pass in Greek in his first public examination at either of the Universities, all boys who intend to proceed to the Universities must learn Greek. Whether the Universities are right or wrong in enforcing Greek is not part of our present discussion; the fact remains that they can and do impose upon all schools which send boys to them the necessity of teaching Greek.

A few years ago an attempt was made in the University of Cambridge to release the schools from teaching Greek by allowing an alternate subject in the first public examination. This proposal was rejected. The method of its rejection is worth noticing. Ultimately any disputed question of organization at either of the Universities is referred to the senate.

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For ordinary purposes the senate consists of the resident Masters of Art and men who hold degrees of the same or higher standard ; that is to say, that the question is decided by the men who are actually engaged in the teaching and organization of the University. But all Masters of Arts, etc., whether resident or non-resident, have a right to vote, and whenever any highly controversial question is raised, such as this question of Greek, or the admission of women to degrees, non-resident members of the senate are whipped up from the country, and vote according to their lights ; in other words, questions involving an intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the University may be decided by men who have ceased for many years to be in close, personal contact with the place in which they completed their education.

There are many University men who refuse to see that the Universities bear the responsibility of providing teachers for schools. They are willing enough to say, "all teachers should go to the University," but they will not go one step further and admit that this being the case the Universities must from time to time so modify some of their arrangements as to meet the requirements of the schools ; and though a very large number of the non-resident Masters of Arts are schoolmasters, the majority are not. Any arrangement suggested to resident members of the senate for the improvement of the relations between the Universities and the schools might be rejected by

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the votes of men completely innocent of an acquaintance with the points at issue, except in so far as they might be informed by the partisan flyleaves which it is customary to circulate on these occasions.

Thus any suggestion which may be made as to the desirability of an increased recognition by the Universities of their responsibilities to the schools is liable, whatever its intrinsic value, to be ultimately rejected, not by the resident teachers at the Universities, but by the non-resident voters.

It might seem to the outsider that nothing could be simpler than to provide a teacher's degree at either University by a modification of examinations already in existence.

But there is a serious obstacle.

Up to the present time the schools which can afford to pay the highest salaries, or which are otherwise attractive, have been in the habit of selecting exclusively specialists as their teachers; and the University examinations have exactly suited their purpose. The ablest undergraduates compete for honours—that is to say, that under ordinary circumstances, as soon as they have done with their first public examination, they proceed to study one or, at the most, two subjects only. They read Classics or Mathematics or Science, and the competition is so severe that only very exceptionally gifted men can take up more than one subject without considerable peril to their degree. So long as schools consider themselves places devoted to the manufacture of

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specialists, and regard none of their work as really important which does not conduce to winning scholarships at the Universities, this system of examination satisfies everybody. Further, all schools which keep boys after the age of sixteen will continue to require the services of at least three specialists. They will require a Classic, a Mathematician, and a Scientific man; but for the ordinary work of a school a specialist is out of place. The work, for reasons which have already been dealt with, is better done by men who have command of at least two subjects; and it would seem to be a simple solution to institute a teacher's degree, by which men would be able to produce satisfactory certificates of being proficient in certain groups of subjects up to the standard required. Here, however, comes the difficulty. The Universities train not only teachers for schools, but their own teachers; and it is of the essence of University teaching that tutors and professors should be specialists. Other teachers may be mere irrigators, men who only distribute the stream of knowledge derived from some fountain-head; the University professor or tutor is the well-spring—he is the teacher of teachers.

The inducements offered to men to qualify themselves for this work are certain emoluments called Fellowships; and by a natural and judicious arrangement Fellowships are awarded only to specialists. At present a man may compete for a Fellowship knowing that if he fails to win it there will still be open to him the chance of being offered a mastership at a

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school ; but a man who entered for a teacher's degree would at once cut himself off from all hope of a Fellowship, and under existing circumstances few men would care to do so whose ability was of a high order, work at a University being generally held to be pleasanter than work at a school.

Except for this difficulty, a modification of the pass degree at Cambridge would meet the requirements of the schools—a modification in the direction of giving a certificate in modern languages as well as other subjects—but a higher standard than that of the ordinary pass degree would be required in all subjects.

A separate special Modern Language Examination for Honours, such as both Universities already have, would not meet the case ; because here again there is not time for specializing in two subjects in the case of men of sufficient ability to become good schoolmasters, but not on the plane of University teachers. A dread of instituting what was at Cambridge derisively called "a courier Tripos," has further rendered these examinations practically of little value for teachers. After all, the art of writing even French prose, as it is written by the masters of French literature, is not an everyday accomplishment ; and while a knowledge of mediæval French and German is necessary from the point of view of the philologist, perfect conversance with the language as now written and spoken is more important to the schoolmaster.

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If we organize the teaching profession, and in so doing increase its attractions, we can at least demand that young men who propose to become teachers should have made up their minds to that work by the time that they begin their University career. It would be possible to place the examination for teachers, where Moderations come at Oxford and the first part of the different Triposes at Cambridge, allowing a man the opportunity of getting further honours in a single special subject should he wish to. Under the present conditions not a few men take to teaching as a second best. Having failed in the competition for Fellowships, they then bethink themselves of teaching in a school, having already reached a time of life when further delay in getting to work is inconvenient, if not impossible. Even when a man can afford the time to spend a year on the Continent learning French or German, he is unable to bring back satisfactory certificates of having spent his time well.

There is a kind of person in India who frequently and persistently solicits employment on the ground that he is a "failed B.A."; that is to say, that he has unsuccessfully studied for a B.A. degree. We do not want our teachers to possess analogous qualifications, or our schools to be staffed largely by men who would have preferred other work; we want to be done with the assumption that teaching is anybody's work.

In addition to the University degree, previous

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attendance at a duly registered school would also be a necessary qualification of a teacher. This is already recognised in practice. The reason for it has already been stated, viz., that a boy at school learns methods of teaching which could not so conveniently be imparted to him in any other way.

Much time may be wasted over pædagogic literature, Froebel and the rest. The practical difficulties of teaching are not surmounted by acquaintance with psychological theorists. Many a woman, most mothers who are worthy of the name, is a Froebelian without knowing it. Froebel took to the school the ordinary practice of the family. He organized and improved all the little employments and amusements by which children are kept wholesomely occupied. He thus did valuable work ; but when he theorizes about child nature, he ceases to be of practical value. We gain nothing by stating that a child is one or is three, or by drawing fanciful analogies between human development and crystallography.

Similarly we hear much in these days about the "Art of teaching," and of its importance as part of the qualifications of a teacher ; but there is something to be said on the other side also.

Much of what is called the art of teaching consists of a series of clever devices to produce illusory results. The teacher does the work which should be done by the pupil, with the result that, when the pupil is left to his own resources, he collapses ; he has nothing to stand on. Such devices are naturally

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most frequent when the conditions are such that the teacher cannot study the individual, when the classes are large, and when it is required that a whole class shall be brought up, or possibly kept down, to a uniform standard. No teaching is worth anything which has not improved the working power of the pupil ; and an elaborate system of mnemonics, which is what the art of teaching is apt to become, is mischievous rather than useful. There is even a point at which ingenious contrivances for promoting industry become harmful. Could a school be so organized that no boy could possibly waste his time, the chances are even that a large number of boys would be so dependent upon organization as to be demoralized for good, helpless without the organization.

Take the case of the French schools. Boys in a French school are perpetually under surveillance. Where the system is worked thoroughly, no boy ever has an opportunity of doing anything wrong. And there are many ladies in England who like such a system for their boys ; but the moral standard of the young Frenchman is certainly not superior to that of the English public school boy, who enjoys plenty of opportunities of getting into mischief.

Any man who has sympathy, common-sense and powers of observation, quickly hammers out an art of teaching for himself. And he must do it for himself. It is a good thing to warn him against possible errors at the outset, especially against expecting too much ;

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but it is only by practical contact with his pupils that he learns the meaning of the warnings.

If, however, a man is required to teach under conditions in which sympathy is impossible, common-sense inapplicable, and no time is given for observation, then he must fall back on some art of teaching, some elaborately devised combination of drill and mnemonics. It is not in the interest of the nation to multiply schools in which such systems are necessary.

While we are at liberty to admire the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, we must at the same time be on our guard against fanaticism in our adoration. We may not unfrequently observe a tendency in the speeches of our educational leaders to ascribe to these Universities miraculous powers. They are the Mecca and Medinah of our intellectual life. A fortnight's pilgrimage in the course of the long vacation means something like intellectual salvation, or is at least the first step in the upward path.

While conceding that these Universities have certain special characteristics which are not found elsewhere, and which cannot be reproduced elsewhere,—in fact, that there is much that is valuable on the banks of the Cam and Isis that cannot by any possibility be “extended,”—we must also allow independence to our local Universities. These places should not be held in leading-strings. A degree at Victoria or Durham should be, and should be accepted as being, intellectually at least of the same value as the corresponding degree at Oxford or Cambridge, and all possible

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pains should be taken to secure this end. If a teacher's degree is established, it should be possible to take it at Liverpool or Newcastle-on-Tyne, as well as at Oxford or Cambridge. By affiliating local Universities to the older institutions, by continuing University extension lectures in places where an independent University has already been founded, and further by conducting local examinations within the sphere so to speak of another University, we damage the prestige of our new creations, and we reduce their practical value.

One difficulty which these places suffer from, is the difficulty of getting a sufficiently large proportion of students to take up the complete course of study, except in medicine, where the conditions are prescribed by the general medical council, and where the degree is a necessary qualification for admission to a profession. Were a teacher's degree established common to all Universities, many teachers would have this opportunity of taking it who cannot go to Oxford or Cambridge. It is possible to conceive local law schools similarly recognised by the Incorporated Law Society attached to local Universities. In each case there would be the same reason for going through a complete course which already holds in the case of medicine.

The influence of the Universities has not been worth much, if it has not found professors for the local colleges competent to disseminate the ideals and standards up to which they were themselves

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taught. It would probably cost no more to equip the local Universities more completely than to devise means of finding scholarships for teachers who wished to go to Oxford or Cambridge.

Abroad, or at least in Germany, the land of Universities, there is not the same domination. After 1870 the Germans refounded the University of Strasburg, which already in 1878 was not at a disadvantage in comparison with the old Universities of Freiburg and Heidelberg in the immediate neighbourhood, and whose science school had a distinguished reputation. Students went to Strasburg as they would go to Berlin. It is good to worship Oxford and Cambridge, but our worship should not degenerate into superstition.

Already some of the provincial Universities have associated themselves with the training of board school teachers. The system might be wholesomely extended ; diocesan and other training colleges placed in towns where there are University colleges. Young men learn much from contact with other young men, who may not be engaged in precisely the same pursuits. The life of a seminary is not always invigorating. A teaching University is superior to an examining University, precisely because of the possibilities of mutual improvement which it affords outside of the lecture-room. A degree in the University of London, or other non-resident University, reduces our conceptions of the advantages of a University education to their narrowest limits. Again, if

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personal influence is valuable at any time of life, it is particularly valuable at the period of early manhood ; and Oxford and Cambridge alike send out men whose ideals of the dignity and responsibility of the teacher are effective without the background of Christ Church meadows or King's Chapel. It is not necessary to go to Oxford or Cambridge in order to be instructed by men who represent the best work that these places can do ; who believe in learning for learning's sake, and have other noble enthusiasms.

XIV

The Registration of Schools and Teachers

ENGLISH schools at the present moment are divided into two main classes—those which are over-organized, and those which are not organized at all. Schools are over-organized when the individual teacher is reduced to a machine ; when no opportunity is allowed for the development of his individual tastes and sympathies ; when even a head master is relieved of responsibility by the machinery of a Department. This is the condition of all schools working under the present Education Department, and of all schools, or sections of schools, organized by the Department of Science and Art.

Is this the ideal which we propose for the schools hitherto devoid of organization ? or is it not possible to devise a system which will give reasonable liberty to the teacher, reasonable information to the parent, reasonable protection to the children ?

Registration of schools, combined with organization of examinations, seems to hit the mark.

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There are, however, certain difficulties in connection with registration, certain possibilities of mistake which require consideration.

The first and most obvious mistake would be to devise an *a priori* classification of schools, and require all existing schools to conform to it. At the present moment, for instance, we have gone some way towards classifying schools according to their financial constitution. We have drawn a sharp line between schools owned by their head masters and schools administered by a body of trustees in one shape or another. We distinguish between proprietary schools and other schools; and in drawing this line we have definitely expressed hostility to the proprietary school. Such schools cannot earn grants; and, by the private regulations of the Head Masters' Conference and the Incorporated Association of Head Masters, their principals cannot take part in the deliberations of either of these bodies. We do not, however, class a school as proprietary if it belongs to a limited liability company, in which neither the head master nor assistants have shares—a form of organization which has given us Cheltenham, Clifton, Malvern, Dover, and some other schools of high reputation.

There are, however, in existence throughout the country a very large number of schools in the hands of private proprietors. Among these are, almost without exception, the preparatory schools for the public schools, whose excellent work is acknowledged by the head masters of the public schools to have raised

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the standard of the public schools themselves. And, again, all towns of any size are furnished with schools varying in importance and in the nature of the work which they do, owned by private proprietors.

To devise a national scheme of school registration without taking these schools into consideration, without attempting to discover what work they are doing, what place they fill in the educational needs of the country, would be a serious blunder, and if any attempts were made to condemn them unheard, a gross injustice.

It would be a serious blunder, because no State is gifted with perfect prescience. Hitherto the enterprise of private individuals has stepped in to supply unforeseen wants for which no public provision had been made. In our large manufacturing towns the local grammar schools are not unfrequently poorly endowed. They have no means of extending themselves in proportion to the population. They are often inconveniently situated. Private enterprise has supplied education which would have otherwise been unattainable. Such conditions are not temporary, they are permanent. So long as our towns continue to grow, the centres of population inside them will shift. Those parts of a town which were once suburbs inhabited by merchants will become again, as they have become in times past, barracks for workmen. The population itself will continue to increase insensibly ; perhaps its social conditions will change. During the periods of transition private enterprise in the

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matter of opening schools is the simplest solution of a difficulty.

What is the objection to unrestricted freedom on the part of the private adventurer? Why is it so commonly assumed that there is something inherently bad in a school conducted as a private speculation? And if the system, or want of system, has its imperfections, is there no way of removing these weaknesses short of declaring war upon private adventurers altogether?

The sources of weakness are twofold. One is that under present conditions anybody is at liberty to open a school, absolutely anybody, and to call that school by any name which he or she thinks likely to attract pupils. It may be a college, a high school, a seminary, an academy, a kindergarten, a commercial school, a classical school,—in fact, anything, even an electrical school. The proprietor need be provided with no certificate of proficiency, as long as he can make himself acceptable to a sufficient number of parents. This applies everywhere. A curate at a fashionable watering place, who has never done a stroke of teaching in his life, whose literary attainments are represented by the barest supply of that commodity necessary to one who takes Holy Orders, may, and often does, open a preparatory school. A small shop-keeper, with a gift for preaching, may find it more profitable to abandon the shop and undertake to teach the children of the "connection" to which he belongs. Sometimes men who have begun work

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in this way prove capable of the work which they have taken upon themselves, but there is no antecedent probability that this will be the case.

This difficulty is easily dealt with. Teachers can be put under a system similar to that which controls the medical profession. We could grant licenses to teachers who wished to open schools, demand of them certain qualifications,—so much previous teaching experience, for instance, in duly registered schools,—and allow them to fix the name and standard of their schools according to the nature of their qualifications. We might even fix a minimum scale of fees.

The second source of weakness in private adventure schools is that they are insufficiently independent of the goodwill of parents to be able to organize themselves to the best advantage of the children, too subject to the caprices of those same parents, too much at the mercy of competitors, and only in the rarest cases able to provide really satisfactory premises.

These schools are defenceless against the parent who insists on prescribing the curriculum which his own child is to follow. They are in consequence tempted to teach, or undertake to teach, a larger number of subjects than they can possibly deal with, and they are all but forced to substitute methods of teaching which show quick and unstable results for more laborious but less showy methods, which secure permanent advantage to the pupil.

Included in the general organization of education

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such schools would be freed at least from some of the mischiefs of parental interference; their position could be defined by registration, approved from time to time by inspection.

Within certain limits there is no occasion for regulating the accommodation provided by such schools in the matter of premises. No parents are compelled to send their children to them, and it may be presumed that although parents may not share the prejudices of a Government inspector as to cubic space, they are more competent to decide for themselves as to whether rooms are sufficiently large than they are as to the relative merits of teaching instruments.

In the same way private boarding schools, whether preparatory or advanced, could be registered. No machinery could possibly be devised which would prevent foolish mothers from sending their children to a man who flattered their prejudices rather than to a man who imposed upon them the minimum of necessary discipline, but the possibilities of injury to the children by the unwise selection of parents could certainly be limited by licensing teachers according to their experience; and material help would be given to the sensible parents who, from want of previous experience, might be unable to estimate the most important qualifications of the person to whom they proposed to entrust their children.

The details of registration of schools cannot be helpfully discussed till we have full information about

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the existing schools, what they are teaching, how they teach, to what extent their organization is rendered defective by the conditions under which they work ; but certain possibilities as the results of registration may be indicated.

One fact will certainly come out after minute inquiry, viz., that the courses of study pursued at Eton and other public schools differ but little from those of a majority of the grammar schools and many proprietary schools ; and that in many respects the ideals and standards of the " public " schools are widely diffused ; further, that there are day schools doing as good work as boarding schools.

Another fact that will be declared will be the possibility of simplifying and reducing the number of subjects taught. Relieved from the pressure of parents, the schools will be able to teach a few subjects soundly rather than many badly. It will be possible to establish a distinction between subjects preliminary to special subjects and these special subjects, to release the schools at once from continual interference by the man who says, " I want my son to learn . . . , " without ever inquiring into the processes involved in learning the subject in question.

It is also within the bounds of reasonable expectation to surmise that an inquiry into the status of existing schools will demonstrate that in demanding " secondary education " we are shadow-hunting after all. We have got it, if we choose to use and not abuse the existing machinery.

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The demand for secondary education is not an educational demand, not as it is at present made. It is a demand, not that teaching should be organized and improved, but that existing methods of teaching which are necessarily costly, because they involve the expense of a large staff of teachers, should be rendered inexpensive. And it is to be feared, very much to be feared, that the desire to render these methods inexpensive may lead to rendering them ineffective. To create, for instance, new schools in some of our towns and call them secondary schools without ensuring proper conditions of teaching, that is to say, without providing an adequate staff to teach those subjects which require small classes, would be to invite failure. Such schools must be relatively costly unless they are largely endowed. It has already been pointed out that when our grammar schools fail, the cause is often low fees, inadequate endowment, multiplicity of subjects.

There is yet another reason for registration of schools, and a sound, democratic reason too.

A large number of our fellow-countrymen, among others the editor of the *Schoolmaster*, are under the impression that the favourable teaching conditions enjoyed by Eton and other public schools proceed from the fact that these schools are endowed. Nothing could be more erroneous. The actual money endowment of Eton could be removed without serious disturbance to the teaching, for one endowment could never be removed—her historic past.

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Others of our public schools have an almost nominal endowment; others, and those not among the least effective, none at all. The schools which owe most to endowment are day schools; the schools at Birmingham, Bedford, Dulwich, and others. The fees paid by the parents in these places are inadequate to support the teaching without endowment.

We have, in fact, a large number of schools in the country which are adequately staffed—and among them we may include all the preparatory boarding schools—which are supported by parents willing to pay adequate fees or nearly adequate fees. Who suffers by this arrangement? Nobody; in fact, if education in the true sense of the word is not a mere superstition, the nation gains largely. The wealthier families, and many that are not particularly wealthy, deliberately set aside large sums for the training of their children away from home, when they might avail themselves of the nearest board school, and have them educated at the expense of those who pay rates and taxes. The majority of the boys who attend these schools are not destined for the public service, in the sense that they will become soldiers, or sailors, or civil servants; but they are trained for the public service in another way. They acquire those habits of mutual toleration and forbearance, those broader sympathies, which are necessary to a nation largely governed by unpaid representatives alike in Imperial and local affairs. In fact, the English Public Schools represent what the Athenians used to call a "liturgy,"

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a voluntary service imposed by rich men upon themselves for the good of the State.

In all classes of the community we want to see more of this spirit ; we should give it every encouragement.

What should we lose? who would be injured, if we were to classify our schools according to the professions and occupations for which their preliminary training was suitable, and then insisted upon attendance at those schools over a certain number of years, according to the character of the school, as a preliminary to entering for the examinations, which admit to certain professions? This suggestion has already been made from a slightly different point of view. There would be no occasion to draw a distinction between boarding school and day school, between public school and proprietary school. No matter what the financial basis of the school, it could be registered, recognised by Government, as a place in which boys could be trained for professions, in which teachers could earn their certificates. In this way parents could be provided with a definite reason for spending more on the education of their children, towns would be interested in founding schools provided with adequate buildings and playgrounds. If a locality chose further to endow its school, so that it could be adequately staffed without charging high fees, there would be no objection ; but the declaration of the status of the school would of itself be of the nature of an endowment, and tend to clear the vision

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of those men, that very numerous class in our provincial towns, who cannot think of school fees except as a waste of money, and who choose a school because it is the cheapest to which they can send their children without suffering in the estimation of their neighbours.

The registration of teachers is a simpler matter than the registration of schools, and indeed would follow upon it. The subject has already been partially dealt with, and it has been shown that there is no necessity for insisting that every teacher should go to a training college. Two points would have to be rigidly fixed : the qualifications necessary for a head master who is elected by a governing body ; the qualifications necessary for a teacher who wishes to open a private adventure school. In the first case it would be essential to stipulate that a man who wished to be a head master should not only have taught for so many years in a registered school, but that he should also be conversant with more than one department of the work of that school. It would be well that the credentials given should be signed by the inspector as well as the other school authorities, and that these credentials should be strictly limited in number and specified in character. The present system of testimonial hunting is degrading to the profession. It might also prove possible to provide that schools in which the emoluments of the teachers are relatively high should not take men inexperienced of teaching ; for instance, that a year or two at some other school

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should be a necessary qualification for an assistant master at Eton. Parents who pay more for the education of their children have a right to demand more.

No system of registration of schools and teachers can be devised which will make all schools and all teachers perfect. There is some danger that in straining after this ideal we may make the life of the teacher with genius an impossibility. All restrictions and demands designed to make a good teacher out of a bad one are subject to the very serious drawback that they also make a bad teacher out of a good one.

A good teacher demands before all things freedom of contact with his pupils; and wherever that freedom is unduly interfered with the teacher's efficiency is damaged. The present Educational Departments should be a warning rather than an example.

XV

The Author to the County Councillor

I ADDRESS myself to you, sir, because though doubtless you will soon be a Member of Parliament, you are not so as yet. Then you will be inaccessible to my voice. You will have forgotten your more earnest aspirations, the generous enthusiasms which moved you to sacrifice your leisure to the public good, the evils for which you believed that you could find a remedy all out of your own head ; your chart of the seas and islands round Utopia, to which blessed country you had proposed to pilot our ship. He that becomes a Member of Parliament must perforce play the game of the House of Commons. This appears to be an exciting form of sport. Those that have once engaged in it forget the things that formerly appeared to them to be real, proportion for them vanishes ; Ireland looms larger than India, Canada becomes a speck, Crete a continent ; and while the game is being played, the Empire herself resembles a golf-widow bereft of her natural guardian. The game of the House of Commons has very little to do with the government of the Empire, a responsibility which indeed obtrudes itself upon the players

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occasionally to their great confusion, after the fashion of a living bunker, as though a stray elephant should promenade upon a golf links. This engrossing game is primarily concerned with keeping a particular party in office. Legislation is a secondary consideration only handled for the purposes of the game ; for laws are no longer imposed from above, they are demanded from below. Should, however, there be no demand for laws, the game would cease, and therefore the chief players on either side from time to time set certain tee-to-tums spinning before the eyes of the multitude, whose attention being observed to be arrested by some particularly gaudy toy, one of the parties hastily grabs it, declares itself to be the sole inventor and proprietor of the attractive article, sends it spinning on further gyrations, and eventually bestows it on the British public, who clap their hands for joy, clutch the gift to their bosoms, repay their benefactors in solid votes, and then discover that the pretty thing is of no possible use to them. Even so have we been provided with a County Council Act, and a Parish Council Act, and an Employers' Liability Act, all of them primarily suggested by the caddies who wait upon the players in the great Parliamentary game.

The education top is unhappily a sober-coloured thing. It was for a while successfully decorated with a broad band bearing the legend, "Get your children taught for nothing," and a galoon upon it labelled "British commerce in danger from Foreign Com-

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petition" had a considerable vogue ; but since the sensational flags which it once bore, entitled " Church Privileges endangered " and " Nonconformist Liberties imperilled," have rather lost their colour and become draggled, the poor thing hums away in obscurity and is but little observed. In fact, it is unable to attract a single vote, and has no chance of being birled along the ordinary course except in the intervals of the game, out of sheer wantonness, by some player who wishes to show how much he could do, did he choose to break with tradition and the unwritten laws which control the unsophisticated ambition of members of the House of Commons.

So far the County Council game has not been developed, the course is not even marked out, and a County Councillor may be regarded as a virgin innocent, to whom all information is acceptable, the avenues to his intelligence being not as yet obstructed by the preoccupations of an order of things with which an instructed intelligence has little enough to do.

The County Councillor already has educational responsibilities. It is not improbable that in the not distant future these responsibilities will be largely extended. What state of preparedness will you, friend, bring to your work ?

I may be unfortunate in my acquaintance and in the periodicals which I read, and my conviction that the average well-to-do Englishman is singularly devoid of information on educational subjects may

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be erroneous. I can, however, suggest a reason for the ignorance or apathy of my countrymen in these matters. The men who in middle life are sufficiently wealthy to undertake voluntary public work belong educationally to one of two classes: they are either persons who, inheriting wealth, have been educated at one of the public schools, or they are persons who have made their money without having had the advantages of a literary education. An unfortunate peculiarity of our public school system is the narrowness of its sympathies in educational matters. Few boys are aware of the existence of any schools except those with which their own school happens to play matches. Even when their information happens to be extended and they are cognisant of a large number of such institutions, they still set the public schools apart from the rest of the education of the country. Grammar schools and all the rest are classed by them as a separate and pitiable phenomenon with which they have nothing to do, and which is not worth the serious consideration of anybody. This attitude is continued through life. The recent attempt to classify certain schools as "non-local," and so to exempt them from being governed in accordance with any scheme of national education, is sufficient evidence of the restricted view of the public school man. Again, the man whose education has been limited to instruction, who has never in his youth been submitted to the influence of a refined scholar or the patriotic training of an English public school, is disposed to

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ignore the existence of the best things that education can give.

These two considerations alone are enough to account for the incomparable silliness of our methods of dealing with educational matters as revealed by the report of the Commission on Secondary Education.

In a previous book I endeavoured to deal with educational questions from a parent's point of view. The book was not exhaustive; it was not intended to be. It was designed to be suggestive; to indicate how very complex is this subject about which we are all so ready to talk, and, my publishers inform me, so very unwilling to learn.

My present observations have been addressed rather to those who may be called upon to reorganize our educational system than to parents and guardians. They can pretend to no higher authority than that which is given by the fact that the man who has made them is pledged to utter the cry of no party, is bound to the precepts of no master, and has enjoyed reasonable opportunities in the way of seeing.

Again, I have been methodically unmethodical, having largely ignored blue books and statistics; indeed, have endeavoured to recall to the minds of my readers much that lies outside statistics, and cannot as yet be measured by them. I admit that, according to modern standards, I am unscientific; but those phenomena which have not as yet been classified by rigorously scientific methods are none the less existent; and the value of a sermon is not entirely dependent upon the authenticity of its text.

The Author to the County Councillor

I wish, in concluding these remarks, to draw your attention to one very serious danger which besets our legislation in connection with education. It is the danger of offering bribes. The working man, who now holds the majority of votes, is a good fellow in the main, a far better fellow than his leaders. It is becoming increasingly the habit of politicians, whether local or imperial, to approach him on the side of his weakness rather than on the side of his strength, to appeal to his worse qualities rather than to his better aspirations. He is singularly at the mercy of those who tell him that he has a grievance, or that they can give him something which he ought to have. If the organization of education is to get into the hands of people who have no scruple in attempting to win votes by posing as benefactors to the working man, English education is doomed. The appeal to greediness is demoralizing in itself, and drags calamity in its train ; for greediness is a quality insatiate in its essence, and has no sooner swallowed one meal than it is clamouring for the next.

It is in the hope of averting some such catastrophe, of giving you something to set against the prevailing tendency to encourage people to think rather of what they shall get by education than of what they shall be, that I penned the foregoing pages, for which I respectfully solicit the favour of your enlightened attention.

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